

PALAESTRA XXXV.

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The Story of King Lear

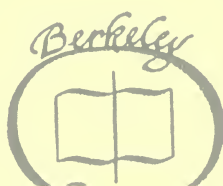
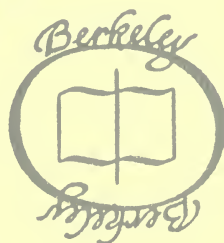
from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare

by

Wilfrid Perrett, B. A. (Lond.), Ph. D (Jena).







PALAESTRA.

Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen
und englischen Philologie.

Herausgegeben

von

Alois Brandl, Gustav Roethe und Erich Schmidt.

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from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare
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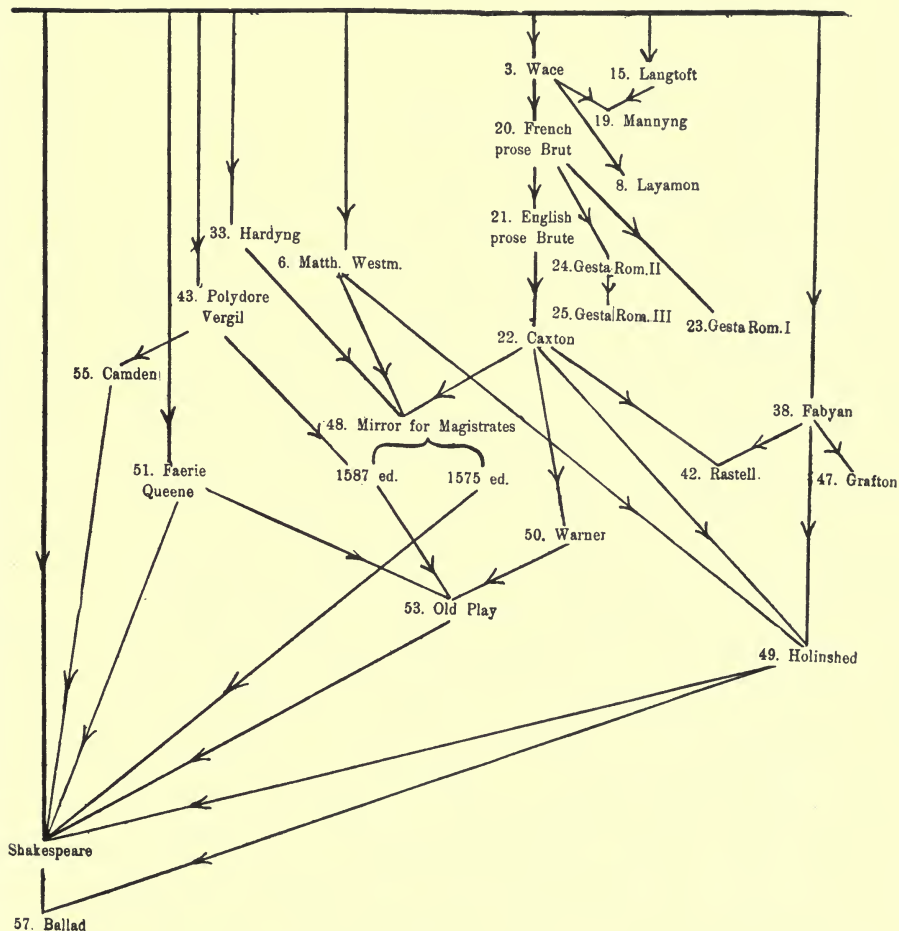
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To

Alois Brandl.

Pedigree of the Story.

Geoffrey of Monmouth



Note. This table excludes the numerous versions immediately dependent on Geoffrey which play no part in the transmission of the story.

Preface.



The following study was undertaken in Berlin, longer ago than I care to state, at the suggestion of Professor Brandl, to whose kind and constant interest I also in great measure owe its continuance and completion. The first survey of editors' introductions to *King Lear* does not encourage a belief that a new investigation would yield any noteworthy results. If anything appears beyond doubt, it is that Shakespeare gained his knowledge of the story of Lear from such and such well-defined quarters, to be found set down in almost any edition of the play. Further we are assured in the most ambitious edition of recent years, the *New Variorum*, that the search for sources is the most profitless department of Shakespearian study. But a closer examination shows these editors in a state of disagreement amounting at times to a complete contradiction. For instance, while Alexander Schmidt, 1879, asserts that Shakespeare owed nothing to the old play, *The True Chronicle History*, and probably had never heard of it, Furness, 1880, thinks we may discern therein the direct source of *Lear*. If only for the sake of the schoolboy, who still has to simulate a thirst for such 'profitless' knowledge, it seemed worth while to try, in the words of Leir in the old play, 'to be reliev'd of this distressing doubt'.

The plan here followed was first to look for the origin of the story narrated by Geoffrey of Monmouth; then to make as complete as possible a collection of subsequent

versions; to determine as accurately as possible the connection between each of these and its predecessors; and so to gain a deeper insight into the story as an organism than can be obtained from a more or less haphazard selection of striking features from a few versions — the only method hitherto pursued. Of its successful application, and of the value of the results obtained, I beg the reader to judge.

To a large extent my material stood ready at hand in the splendidly equipped library of the *Englisches Seminar* in Berlin. I have further to acknowledge my obligation to the authorities of the Royal Library, Berlin; of the University Libraries of Bonn, Jena, and Göttingen; and of the British Museum, where a few days put me in possession of a number of versions of the first importance for my purpose, including the original text of the Ballad.

With Professor Brandl's name I wish to join that of his collaborator in editing the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Professor Wolfgang Keller, of Jena, by whose warm sympathy and valuable counsel I have repeatedly profited.

Bridgwater, August 1904.

Wilfrid Perrett.

I.

Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The story of King Lear and his Three Daughters makes its first appearance in literature about 1135 A. D., in the truly wonderful work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the *Historia regum Britanniae*. This so-called history claims to be merely the translation of a very ancient book *britannici sermonis*. It is difficult to understand, among other things, how a very old book could have contained traces of Norman chivalry and have reflected the splendour of Henry I's court, unless Merlin had a hand in it, or his sire; and although in certain quarters, apparently, hope still survives that some day may bring to light that *librum vetustissimum*,¹⁾ the usual opinion is that what Geoffrey wrote in his epilogue concerning the book brought *ex Britannia* was but another fiction added to support the rest. Yet an imaginary book would imply collusion on the part of Archdeacon Walter of Oxford, and it seems more probable that the latter actually did bring some old-Welsh or Breton book from Brittany (cf. H. L. D. Ward in *Anglia*, 1901, XXIV p. 381—5). But Geoffrey certainly carried out his request for a translation in a very liberal spirit. So many ideas in the *Historia* are seen to have come from known authorities that Professors Rhys and Zimmer agree that Geoffrey drew his materials from all the sources open to him.²⁾ And these were many, for Geoffrey

¹⁾ Cf. J. G. Evans in Rhys and Evans, *Text of the Bruts*, Oxford, 1890, p. XI.

²⁾ *Text of the Bruts*, p. XXVII; Gött. gel. Anz. 1890, p. 822.

was not a mere provincial Welshman, but was at Oxford as early as 1129, and probably took his degree of Magister at Paris (cf. Ward, l. c., p. 385). Zimmer (Nennius Vindictatus, p. 278) gives a list of works he must have known, and the chapters which tell of Lear and Cordelia¹⁾ show their author's acquaintance with Gildas (*epinomia*, cf. III § 14, note), Nennius (cf. p. 4), the Vulgate (*ex abundantia cordis dixisse*, cf. III, § 24, note 1) and possibly Tacitus (cf. p. 26) and Gregory of Tours (cf. p. 20, note 2).

For the bulk of the first three books of the *Historia* there is good evidence that the *liber vetustissimus* allowed Geoffrey full scope for the exercise of that eclecticism which is so important an ingredient for originality. He begins with the coming of Brutus, descendant of Æneas of Troy, and founder of the British race, expanded from § 10 of Nennius, who after this promising beginning passes on at once to Julius Caesar. This surprising solution of continuity in British history must have struck readers of Nennius. In 1139 Henry of Huntingdon wrote from Normandy an account of Geoffrey's book, which had there been shown him, to his amazement (*stupens inveni*, he writes), to a Welsh²⁾ friend who apparently had already heard something of its contents in a less direct way. The letter begins: 'Quaeris a me, Warine Brito, . . . cur patriae nostrae gesta narrans, a temporibus Julii Caesaris inceperim, et florentissima regna, quae a Bruto usque ad Julium fuerunt, omiserim. Respondeo igitur tibi quod nec voce nec scripto horum temporum saepissime notitiam quaerens invenire potui.' This is the passage which led Professor W. Förster to write (Erec u. Enide, 1890, p. XXXVI): 'Wir wissen ja aus dem Mund des ganz England nach Geschichtsstoffen durchreisenden Heinrichs von Huntingdon, daß er nie etwas über Artus nec

¹⁾ Gottfried von Monmouth ed. San. Marte, Halle 1854, lib. II, cap. XI—XV.

²⁾ Cf. F. Lot, Romania, 1895, XXIV 499.

voce nec scripto habere erfahren können.' The interpretation is clearly wrong. What has Arthur to do with the period between Brutus and Julius Caesar? And moreover Henry had learnt and used in Bk. II of his *Historia Anglorum* something about Arthur, from Nennius § 53.

We have, then, the direct testimony of the painstaking historian that before the appearance of Geoffrey's work, the history of Britain under the successors to Brutus, of whom King Lear (Leir) is the tenth, was a complete blank; there was no tradition of them either written or oral. This entirely agrees with what is *a priori* probable. The legend of Brutus was by no means a popular tradition but a 'rein gelehrte Erfindung', unknown in Wales until in 796 Nennius transferred it to his compilation from the Irish *Liber de sex aetatibus mundi* (Zimmer, Nenn. Vind., p. 248). The utterly unhistorical idea of pre-Roman kings of the whole of Britain originates in this legend. Without the founder there could have been no 'line of Brute', no Leir King of Britain. The creation of the dynasty lies outside the province of naïve folk-lore, and must have been the work of a cleric who had read Nennius. There is no suspicion of those *florentissima regna* in the Welsh national literature that flourished before Geoffrey. The failure of Henry of Huntingdon's repeated search is intelligible.

To turn to Brittany seems equally hopeless. The Britons whose children were to become Bretons had emigrated long before Nennius introduced Brutus into Britain. They carried with them memories of Arthur which in the new home were to undergo a romantic development, but of Brutus and his followers they could never have dreamt. We are forced to the conclusion that the ancient book from Brittany, if it existed, and whatever it contained, knew nothing of pre-Roman kings of Britain, and that Geoffrey himself undertook to fill the gap in Nennius with fitting successors to Brutus and ancestors to his chief hero, Arthur. This explains the poverty in detail of the early part of his work

compared with lib. VIII—XI where genuine heroic legend was at his disposal (cf. Zimmer, GGA 1890, p. 822). Obviously if Leir never had a Britain to divide among his children, he could not have played the same part in tradition as he does in the *Historia*, and the Story of Lear must be at least an adaptation originally.

That this view is not unjust to Geoffrey will be clear from one or two examples of his historical method. One of his most brilliant feats is the metamorphosis of four of the five contemporary British princes upbraided by Gildas (§§ 28—33) into successive kings of Britain after Arthur (lib. XI) who follow one another on the throne in the precise order in which the plaintive Gildas scolds them.¹⁾ Something of the same kind occurs in the chapters we have to consider, the names of three minor *dramatis personae* being taken from two successive paragraphs of Nennius. Maglocunus, one of the princes censured by Gildas (Malgo in Geoffrey XI, vii) is the Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, whose death is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae* under the year 547 (Mailcun rex Genedotae). Of him Geoffrey read in Nennius, § 62: — ‘Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat, id est in regione Guenedotae, quia atavus illius, id est Cunedag . . . venerat prius de parte sinistrali . . . centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcun regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulserunt ab istis regionibus.’ Of Mailcunus Geoffrey makes Maglaunus, the duke of Albany, husband to Goneril (Lot, Romania XXV, p. 26, recognises Maglaunus as Maelgwn), while Cunedag, who with part of the Otadini migrated south early in the 5th century and founded a dynasty in Wales after expelling the Irish settled there (Zimmer, GGA 1890, p. 817), the ‘King Cunedda’ whom the Welsh regard as the head of so many of their princely pedigrees (Elton, Origins of English History, 1882,

¹⁾ Cf. H. L. D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus. I 217.

p. 355), becomes Cunedagius the son of Regan, king of Britain for thirty-three years at the time when Isaiah and Hosea were prophesying and Rome was founded (Geoffrey II, xv). Thus Maelgwn-Maglaunus-Malgo enjoys the singular privilege of standing uncle to his own *atavus*, an experience which eminently fits him for the position he holds some twelve centuries later as successor to King Arthur. The next paragraph (63) of Nennius supplies the name of Morcant, another 6th century personage, which Geoffrey gives to Goneril's son Marganus. And something more than mere names seems to have come from this source, for Cunedagius establishes his dominion in much the same way as Cunedag. After Cordeilla's death her nephews divide Britain, Marganus taking the part north of the Humber. Later he invades his cousin's territory but is forced to flee before Cunedagius who at length slays him *in pago Kambriae, qui post interfectionem Margani ejus nomine videlicet Margane hucusque a pagensibus appellatus est*, i. e. Glamorgan, *gwlad Morgan* (cf. Lot, Romania XXV, p. 26). "*Morgan* stands for older *Morcant*" (Rhys, Folk-Lore, IV, p. 69). The intruders whom Cunedagius defeats in Wales hail from North Britain. The fact that *Scotti* in Nennius and down to the 10th century means the Irish, but from the 11th, the Scots (Zimmer, Nenn. Vind., p. 29), perhaps helps to explain the course of events in Britain after the death of Cordeilla.

Then again as to Leir's building Leicester. The desire to account for such place-names had led to the creation of eponymous founders before Geoffrey wrote. Thus William of Malmesbury assigns Gloucester to the emperor Claudius (De Gestis Pontif. Angl. § 153); Henry of Huntingdon Colchester to Coel (ed. Arnold, p. LIV). But Geoffrey rides eponymy to death. His British kings though ruling over the whole island with its chief town Troja nova, London, founded by Brutus, appear predisposed by heredity towards building provincial towns. And just as in Nennius, § 49, *Glovi. . . aedificavit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis*

Sabrinae, quae vocatur Britannico sermone Cair Glovi, Saxonice autem Gloecestre, — so Leir aedificavit . . . super fluvium Soram civitatem, quae Britannice Kairleir, Saxonice vero Leir-cestre nuncupatur. The fact that later on Geoffrey calls the town *Legecestria* at first makes one suspicious of the 'Saxon' form, *Leir-cestre*, yet Layamon (c. 1205) writes *Leirchestre* (v. 2915, 3722) where his authority, Wace, has *Leecestre* (v. 1700, 2096), and in the forms in the A. S. Chronicle, *Legraceastre*, *Ligraceastre*, *Ligeraceastre*, etc., the 'r' never fails till A. D. 1124 (*Lēdecæster*, cf. Domesday Book, 1086, always *Ledecestre*!). But the true explanation of the name is given by William of Malmesbury: — *Leg(r)ecestra . . . a Legra fluvio praeterfluente sic vocata.*¹⁾ The alternative name of the Soar long survived. The historians of Leicester (Nichols, Curtis) say the river was formerly called *Legra*, *Leire*, *Leir*; and there is a small town or village at the head of the river (Nichols) or of a branch of it (Curtis) called *Lear* or *Leir* (*Legre* in the Domesday Book, Facs. of Part relating to Leicestershire, p. III, IX); where in 1275 William *Leire* held 20 virgates of land.²⁾ Hence no doubt the not uncommon surname of *Lear*. Emerson had happened upon the facts when he wrote (*English Traits*, Chap. XI): '*Leicester* is the *castra* or camp of the *Lear* or *Leir* (now *Soar*)', and *Leicester* no more owes its existence to King *Leir* than *York* (*Eboracum*, *Cair Ebrauc* in *Nennius*) to King *Ebraucus* (*Geoffrey II*, vii) but both, like *Exeter*, *Ilchester*, and so many other English towns, take their names from the rivers on which they stand. With *York* the debt lies, I believe, on the other side: *Eboracum* built *Ebraucus*. Not so with

¹⁾ *De gest pontif. Angl.* ed. Hamilton, Rolls Ser., § 176. According to the editor's theory of the MSS. his author wrote *Legacestra* before 1125 and himself inserted the *r* between 1125 and 1140.

²⁾ Curtis, *Leicestershire*, 1831, p. 116. — Rival claims of confluent to name the main stream are, I suppose, frequent. Thus Harrison (*Holinshed's Chronicle*, 1587, I 66) maintains that the proper name of the *Parret* is 'the *Iuell* or *Yoo*' (*Isle*, *Yeo*).

Leicester, for Leir (Llyr, Ler), had long been an important legendary personage in Wales and Ireland; originally, it is supposed, a Celtic sea-god (see below, p. 16).

There is no Kaerleir in the list of the 28 British cities in Nennius (§ 66a) but No. 23 of the 28 is Cair Lerion. Camden (*Britannia*, 1695, p. 446) gives his opinion on Leicester: — ‘I think it is called in the Catalogue of Ninnius, Caer Lerion; but that it was built by the fabulous King Leir, let who will believe for me’. Before Geoffrey wrote, Henry of Huntingdon had identified some of the British towns, and among them Cair Lerion (‘Kair-Lirion’) with Leicester. In the Rolls text of the *Historia Anglorum* (ed. T. Arnold, 1879, p. 7) Leicester is, it is true, placed with Kair-Legion. So, too, in Forester’s translation, 1853, p. 3. But the editor would have done well to follow his MS. A., which he claims as the basis of his text (p. XXXVIII), for since Nennius gives only one Cair Legion besides Cair Legeion Guar Usic (Caerleon), and since Bede (*Hist. eccl.* ed. Plummer, I 84) and Henry himself elsewhere (p. 55) identify Cair-Legion with Chester, there is no doubt that the Kair-Lirion of MS. A is the true reading, as it stands in the extracts from Henry in the Chronicle of his friend Robert de Torigni (ed. Delisle, I 112), and in the *Annales* of his contemporary Alfred of Beverley (ed. Hearne, p. 9). The corrupt reading explains the erroneous statement (I. Taylor, *Words and Places*, 1864, p. 276) that Leicester is Legionis Castra.

From the Welsh Cair Lerion or, it may be, from the genuine name represented by the English, Geoffrey drew his authority for giving Leicester to Leir. The association of king and town was in this case unusually happy, the two names being derivatives of the same root. Leir, Llyr means water. On the other hand, a Celtic word for water, stream etc. is contained in most English river-names (I. Taylor, l. c., p. 273). Nichols (*Leicestershire*, 1795, I, Pt. II, p. 3) quotes from a MS. of Edward Lhuyd (1660—1709) that Lyr anciently signified water as well as sea, whence Leyr or

Léri in Cardiganshire and Loire in France. (But according to Deloche, *Revue Celtique* 1897, p. 369, Loire is of Ligurian origin.) It would seem, then, that the name of Leir lies where Geoffrey placed his body: in the town, and at the bottom of the river. It is certainly curious, and I commend the observation to Celtic mythologists, that while King Belinus, in whom Professor Rhys discerns a Celtic fire-god, is cremated (Geoffrey III, x), the remains of the quondam water-god are entrusted to his element — Cordeilla buries Leir *in quodam subteranneo . . . sub Sora fluvio intra Legecestriam*. Presumably Geoffrey knew the meaning of *Llyr*; the river he mentions only by its present name. In any case, the creation of Leicester by Leir, as of King Leir himself, is due only to Geoffrey's associative ingenuity.

Now for the story. There are several theories of origin in existence. The exploded belief that Bishop Tysilio was Geoffrey's authority would not need to be discussed, but that Simrock's inadvertence has given it a new lease of life (see Ch. II, § 7). Simrock is also responsible for the notion, still to be met with, that a cognate story told in the *Gesta Romanorum* of Theodosius, found its way thence into the British history. So far is this from being the case, that the story of Theodosius is, as I shall show, an adaptation from that of Lear, deriving from Geoffrey through a late 13th century prose abridgment of Wace (cf. II, § 20). Similarly the anecdote in Camden's *Remaines*, which Bishop Percy thought possibly 'the real origin of the fable', will prove — though this involves the destruction of a favourite fancy of Mr. Thomas Hardy's — to have been transferred to King Ina from Polydore Vergil's account of Leir (cf. II, § 55).

A more remote origin, suggested by De Gubernatis (*Zoological Mythology*, 1872, I 84) sometimes finds acceptance, as in the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 25, 1902, p. 105. In the stories of Yayâtis and Dirghatamas in the *Mahābhārata* we are invited to see 'King Lear in embryo'. But we must distin-

guish. In the presence of the Tragedy, with its comparatively unimportant first scene, one is not apt to see that the kernel of the story is, as Professor Herford points out,¹⁾ the love-test with the incidents grouping round it: the displeasing answer of the youngest daughter, and her disinheritor; to which the other groups, the king's maltreatment by the favoured daughters, and his rescue by the rejected one, are secondary and accretive. And of course Geoffrey, not Shakespeare, must be made the starting-point. Now after elimination of external and illusory points of resemblance (story told of royalty; Youngest-Best), common to an infinity of tales, the story of the third son who consents to become old instead of his father (Yayâtis), and is finally rewarded with the kingdom; and that of old, blind Dīrghatamas, deprived of food and thrown into the water by his wife and sons, but rescued by an heroic king; or again, another Hindoo 'variety of the legend of Lear', of a king's youngest son, ill-used by his brothers, but faithful to his parents when they are expelled by the elder sons, and finally turned into a beautiful bird (Zool. Myth. II 320), have nothing in common with the Lear-story but their general motive, of (filial) piety, brought into relief by contrasted conduct. Wherever this ethical principle was developed it might be inculcated by similar stories. A student of Chinese literature could doubtless refer to such, still older than the Hindoo, having an equal claim to relationship with Lear. If these Hindoo stories, as such, are King Lear in embryo, then a kitten is an embryo tiger.

To get back beyond Geoffrey we must look for the love-test. It is to be found in a great number of the collections of traditional tales made since the brothers Grimm instituted that good work. In one of their Hausmärchen (No. 179: Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen), a daughter is cast out for telling her father she loves him like salt. In 1864

¹⁾ Eversley Shakespeare, IX, 1899, p. 7.

Reinhold Köhler pointed out the same incidents in a Suabian story and in one from Catalonia.¹⁾ Ten years later he was able to group with these, others, from Hungary, Belgium, France, Venice, Rome, Sicily.²⁾ These and many more go to form the third of the four classes into which Miss M. R. Cox divides no less than 345 anatomized Cinderellas³⁾ This third, or Cap o' Rushes type, has 26 representatives (Cox, Nos. 208—226, 312—318), showing as necessary qualifications for admission, the two special incidents, King Lear judgment — Outcast heroine. Of these, Nos. 313 and 317 belong to what Mr. Hartland calls the Joseph type of the Outcast Child⁴⁾ — the father's wrath excited by the relation of the daughter's dream; 312 and 316 have not the King Lear question. But with these omissions and the addition of the Hungarian and Catalonian tales mentioned by Köhler, one from India, and a second from England⁵⁾ we have 26 striking variants of the Lear story, in 25 of which (omitting No. 222) the father, not conscious of the true value of salt, is angered by what seems to him his daughter's slighting connection of himself with that commodity; in 24 (omitting No. 217: the daughters are to choose gifts; the youngest chooses a screw of salt, and No. 208: no question, but the daughters volunteer their professions of love to dispel his bad

¹⁾ Weimarische Beiträge, 1865; reprinted in R. Köhler, Aufsätze über Märchen und Volkslieder, Berlin 1894; p. 14.

²⁾ In notes to Bladé, Contes populaires recueillis en Agenais, Paris 1874, p. 152 f.

³⁾ Cinderella, 345 variants . . . abstracted and tabulated by Marian Roalfe Cox, London, Folk-lore Soc., 1893.

⁴⁾ Folk-Lore Journal, 1886, IV, p. 308.

⁵⁾ M. Stokes, Indian Fairy Tales, L. 1880, p. 164, cf. Cox, p. 510. S. O. Addy, Household Tales . . of York etc. 1895 (Sugar and Salt), cf. Hartland, Folk-lore VI 86. Not, as Hartland says, the first appearance of the story in English folk-literature. It is preceded by Cap o' Rushes, Cox, No. 219.

temper)¹⁾, there is the love-test, and in 23. of these (omitting No. 222 again) the (only or) youngest daughter is turned adrift by the father for answering that she loves him like salt (naturally with variations: 212 like salt and bread; 315, water and salt; 210, 213, 219, 226, as food loves salt; etc.).

Taking there 23 tales we find that no details recur invariably beyond the love-test — loving like salt — angry father — reconciliation. The father need not be a king; in the English *Cap o' Rushes* (219) he is a rich man. Three daughters are not obligatory; there may be only one (221), two (223), a son and two daughters (222), or in the Indian tale (Stokes), seven daughters. There may or may not be a reason for the question: the father wishes to be king no longer but to divide his kingdom (211); to know how to divide the kingdom at his death (218); to give his kingdom to the one (cf. *Holinshed*) that loves him best (223); the step-daughters arouse his suspicion that the youngest does not love him (212); he is dissatisfied with previous tests (214). And so on. But if we take an average by retaining details common to a majority, we get the following outline: — A king asks his three daughters how much they love him. The first two give pleasing answers, the third displeases by saying she loves him like salt. She is driven forth, but obtains aid, a disguise, and menial employment. A prince falls in love with her and marries her. The father learns the value of salt through having saltless food set before him, and is reconciled.

The persistence of the salt tends to show what is otherwise evident, that the fundamental idea of this type is the difference between the real and apparent values of salt. By comparing the variants an idea can be formed of the growth of the story around this nucleus. The Ingenious Heroine, a favourite figure in popular fiction, linking Western

¹⁾ Cf. too Zingerle, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen aus Tirol*, No. 31. The youngest daughter gives the king a little salt as a birthday present, and is driven away (Cox, p. 510).

ballads and tales with Oriental stories of great age,¹⁾ is entrusted with the task of bringing the value of salt into general recognition. This gives, almost at once, the simplest variant (No. 221, E. Meier, *Volksmärchen aus Schwaben*, Stuttgart, 1852, p. 99): — A king once asked his daughter how much she loved him. 'Like salt.' He is offended; soon after he gives a feast; the food is saltless through the daughter's contrivance; reconciliation. — The 'salt' answer is made more effective by contrast with preceding answers, better two than any other number, better pleasing than not (as in No. 210). They often betray their dependence from the answer of the youngest: salt as food suggested the bread, wine of 209, 214, 215, 314, and the Catalonian tale, and the chicken, bread of 208; as a mineral the diamond, gold of the Hungarian variant, and the gold, silver of 224. (It is perhaps worth noting that the English tale, 219, alone gives both answers as in Geoffrey: life, animam; all the world, omnes creaturas). The father's disappointment is greater; his anger becomes more violent; the sisters may be jealous and excite it further (211, 212, cf. *Mirror for Magistrates* and *Old Play*, Ch. II, §§ 48 and 53). The outcast heroine is sure to end her adventures and the story by a good marriage. By the disadvantageous comparison with the Youngest-Best the sisters' characters may easily become anything from not so good to very bad indeed. What wonder that if the father puts himself into their power they maltreat him? (211, 220, 222, 312). And should not the heroine then come to his rescue?

The one original idea put into terms of popular fiction shows itself capable of development, by attracting and selecting new features from the common fund, into analogues of the Lear-story which may go far beyond Geoffrey. In fact there is scarcely a new turn or incident given to the

¹⁾ Cf. Child's remarks on the ballads of the *Clever Lass*, *Engl. and Scot. Popular Ballads*, vol. I, 1882, p. 8.

story in the literary versions from Geoffrey to Shakespeare for which a parallel cannot be found in one or more of these Cinderella-variants. In No. 211, for instance, the Trusty Servant bears a most marked resemblance in some respects to Shakespeare's Kent (see extracts in Ch. III, § 17), in No. 222 ill-treatment drives the father mad! (cf. III, § 22). This last-mentioned variant, No. 222, alone among the 26, has not the salt. In some of the longer tales, the explanatory incident of the saltless food is wanting, and the reconciliation is effected by other means. No. 222 appears to have been transmitted through this stage. The salt answer, having thus lost its savour, is replaced by a straightforward declaration: — "Je vous aime comme une fille soumise et dévouée doit aimer un père comme vous." Just in this way some of Geoffrey's followers substitute a plain answer for Cordeilla's enigma (cf. III, § 24). But the more intelligible the answer, the less so the father's anger, which must then be taken for granted, as traditional. But what may pass muster in a *saga* will not satisfy the demands of a good *märchen*. This Corsican tale compensates by making the preceding answers flattering to the degree of blasphemy, outdoing all other versions. The eldest replies: "... pour vous je laisserais crucifier Jésus-Christ une seconde fois", and the son is not less extravagant.¹⁾

In view of its age and wide distribution, Geoffrey's story has been regarded as the source of these folk-tales. The issue was obscured by the belief, already referred to, that the analogue in the *Gesta Romanorum* was widely spread on the continent, whereas Oesterley shows it to be peculiar to the English ('Anglo-Latin') recension (cf. Ch. II, § 24). In a review of Miss Cox's book, Mr. W. W. Newell writes (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, VI, 159): "The third class of tales results from a combination of the two prece-

¹⁾ *Marie, la fille du roi* in Ortoli, *Contes populaires de l'île de Corse*, Paris 1883, p. 48.

ding with the story respecting 'loving like salt' which Geoffrey of Monmouth tells of Leir and Cordeilla." To which Mr. Joseph Jacobs replies (Folk-Lore, IV, 279): "the 'loving like salt' formula . . . has a distinct folk-flavour about it, and I think it more likely that both Geoffrey's story and Cap o' Rushes are derived from an English perhaps British folktale." But this is cutting the knot. The reply to Mr. Newell should be that his theory is impossible, simply because Geoffrey tells no "story respecting 'loving like salt'." The only trace of salt in Cordeilla's extremely clever answer is of the Attic variety.¹⁾

Unlike the salt answer, which in its simplest setting requires little apparatus, — no elder sisters, for instance — Cordeilla's answer, with its unheeded warning against her sisters' flattery and of the danger in Leir's impoverishing himself, is only applicable to the particular circumstances of Geoffrey's story; it is not transferable. Cordeilla suffers from being over-subtle; not only Leir misunderstands her, but most of Geoffrey's followers and some commentators as well. Thus Herford (Eversley Sh., IX. p. 8) *ratus eam ex abundantia cordis dixisse, vehementer indignans*, writes of her brutal reply in Geoffrey, quotes however not Geoffrey but Holinshed, who with so many others misses the point completely, failing to note that Cordeilla *jocosis verbis veritatem celare nitatur*, and leads his readers astray by omitting the two explanatory clauses I have just repeated. No other part of the story undergoes so much change, a straightfor-

¹⁾ At Cordeilla ultima, cum intellexisset eum praedictarum aquationibus acquievisse, tentare illum cupiens, aliter respondere perrexit: "Est uspiam, mi pater, filia quae patrem suum plusquam patrem diligere praesumat? Non reor equidem ullam esse quae hoc fateri audeat, nisi jocosis verbis veritatem celare nitatur. Nempe ego dilexi te semper ut patrem, nec adhuc a proposito meo divortor. Etsi a me magis extorquere insistis, audi certitudinem amoris, quem adversus te habeo, et interrogationibus tuis finem impone. Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo." — Porro pater ratus eam ex abundantia cordis dixisse, vehementer indignans, . . .

ward answer in varying degrees of bluntness often replacing the unappreciated enigma of the original (as in folk-tale No. 222, cf. p. 13; for these changes see III, § 24).

If the 'loving like salt' tale is derived from Geoffrey, there must have been not only the unusual conversion of *saga* into *märchen*, but we have to suppose some gifted individual — the inspiration could only have come to one — who grasps the situation (this, however, requires nothing beyond attentive perusal of the Latin), and by a marvellous induction changes the obscure particular application into the lucid general formula, which shall spread all over Europe and penetrate to an old ayah who can only speak Hindustani (Stokes, l. c. p. 164): altogether a task which baffles imagination. Either, then, there is no connection between them, or Geoffrey's story originates in the folk-tale. — That they are connected could hardly be doubted by the most resolute 'casualist', for, leaving out of the question all similarity of accessories, the very heart of the story, the curious psychological basis of the chief situation, is in both cases the same. Notice that Cordeilla does not recoil in maiden modesty from competing with her sisters, but seeing the success of their flattery, tries another way (*tentare illum cupiens, aliter respondere perrexit*), clothes the expression of her surpassing affection in a riddle which the father is only able to solve when brought by privation to see the truth. The utterly irrational procedure of both Leir and Cordeilla can only be explained as the outcome of the story 'made up' with the Clever Lass, to show the value of salt.

It is often assumed, *faute de mieux*, that the story of Lear is of Celtic origin.¹⁾ We may regard it, Mr. Alfred Nutt says (Folk-Lore IV 135), 'with every reason' as drawn from Welsh tradition current in Geoffrey's time. Its origin 'must be sought for in the dim world of Celtic legend,

¹⁾ Cf. King Lear ed. Wright, 1876, p. V; ed. Craig, 1901, p. XXXV; Furnivall in Leopold Sh., p. LXXX.

or in the more remote realm of simple nature-myths'.¹⁾ What is there to favour this view?

The Welsh translations of Geoffrey, which begin in the 12th century, recognise Leir as Llyr, a prominent name in Welsh national literature. Originally Goidelic, and handed down to the Brythons, the mythical Llyr of Welsh legend corresponds to the Irish Ler.²⁾ In the Triads, Llyr Llediaith (of the Dialect, du langage incorrect), who married Erinn, the goddess eponymous of Ireland, is one of the Three Paramount Prisoners of the Isle of Britain. In another version his place is taken by Llud Llaw Ereint (of the Silver Hand), imprisoned with his family by Euroswydd and the Romans, and corresponding to the Irish Nuada Argetlám, who having lost a hand had it replaced by a silver one. Nuada and his people were kept in oppression by him they had taken for their champion, but he was finally delivered and restored to his throne.³⁾ Nuada again is the Welsh Nudd, said to be the "Nodens" depicted as a Triton or Neptune borne by sea-horses in a Roman pavement discovered in Gloucestershire. Thanks to alliteration, Professor Rhys says, the Welsh have the two forms Nudd and Lludd; though there is no connection between the two figures in Welsh literature.⁴⁾ Llyr means the waves, the sea, or water, and like Ler is held to be the name of a Celtic ocean-god, identical with the Hlér or Ægir of Scandinavian mythology.⁵⁾ In the language of the Scalds, ægir often means the sea; the name is connected with Latin aqua, Gothic ahwa, A. S. égor-, éagor-, water-, sea-. Hlér, Logi, and Kári, the

¹⁾ Temple King Lear ed. Gollancz, 1895, p. VIII f.

²⁾ Anwyl, Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil., I 285; Rhys in A. Nutt, Celtic doctrine of Re-Birth, L. 1897, p. 20.

³⁾ Rhys, Arthurian Legend, Oxf. 1891, p. 130f., and Celtic Heathendom, L. 1888, p. 249, 643; Loth, Les Mabinogion, Paris 1889, I 265.

⁴⁾ Celtic Heathendom, p. 125 ff., 289.

⁵⁾ I am indebted to Mr. H. L. D. Ward for calling my attention to the Norse myth.

sons of Fornjótr, rule the sea, fire, and the wind. The peaceable giant Ægir and his rapacious wife Rán, who with her net draws down the drowning to her hall, have nine daughters, who take after their mother, and in stormy seas offer their embraces to the sailors.¹⁾ Some lines from Snorri's Edda are thus translated in the *Corpus poeticum boreale* (II 54): — 'First the horrid sons of Forniot began to drive the snow, what time the storm-loving Daughters of Eager²⁾ wove and ripped the cruel foam, nursed by the cruel frost of the mountain-ranges. The daughters of Lear blew on the ship'.

If on the one hand there is a temptation to connect Goneril and Regan with these 'storm-loving Daughters', on the other hand, since the Triads confound Llyr and Lludd, Cordelia has been identified³⁾ with Kreiddylad (or, in the Black Book, Kreurdilad), daughter of Lludd of the Silver Hand. In the story of Kilhwch and Olwen in the *Mabinogion* she is one of the ladies at Arthur's court, 'the most splendid maiden in the Island of the Strong, and the three adjacent isles'; on her account Gwythyr son of Greidiawl and Gwynn son of Nudd, who had taken her away by force, fight and will fight every first of May till Doomsday,⁴⁾ as in the Prose Edda version of Gudrun, Hedin and Hogni fight for Hilde daily till the *Götterdämmerung*. San-Marte's statement as to Kreiddylad's characteristic filial piety (*Gottfr. v. Mon.*, p. 223) appears to have been a mistake, since later writers (Loth, Rhys) do not mention this trait. In reality the two figures of Kreiddylad and Cordeilla have nothing in common but their famous beauty.

¹⁾ Mogk, *Pauls Grundriß*, III 289, 302 f.; *Corpus poeticum boreale* ed. Vigfusson and Powell, Oxf. 1883, II 468.

²⁾ That is, Ægir. 'Eager is . . the giant-miller Hamlet (*Amlodi*)' (ib. p. 468). Lear = Hamlet!

³⁾ Lady Guest, *The Mabinogion*, L. 1877, p. 263; Rhys, *Celt. Heath.* p. 291.

⁴⁾ Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, p. 225.

And the resemblance between what is told of Llyr, etc., and the fortunes of Leir is of the slightest, if not entirely illusory. The imprisonment of Llyr or Lludd, for instance, on which San-Marte appears to lay some weight, has no counterpart in Geoffrey; Lear as a prisoner first appears in Shakespeare. Nuada's deposition and restoration, on the other hand, are paralleled to some extent in Geoffrey: Leir is deposed from his half of the kingdom by those to whom he has given the other half, and is finally restored. But if Irish Nuada is Welsh Nudd, Nudd and Lludd are kept distinct in Welsh legend, so that it is difficult to see how Nuada's misfortunes can have reached across to Leir.

The elemental force which informs the Tragedy tempts us to imagine a relationship with the sea-giant Hlér-Ægir and his storm-loving daughters. Certainly the Norse myth affords a most beautiful illustration to such a passage as (III, vii, 59):

The sea, with such a storm as his bare head
In hell-black night endured, would have buoy'd up,
And quench'd the stelled fires.

Or again (III, ii, 15):

Nor rain, wind, thunder, fire, are my daughters.
I tax not you, you elements, with unkindness;
I never gave you kingdom, call'd you children,
You owe me no subscription.

But when some Celtic folk-lorists declare that "Lir" is Neptune, the two cruel daughters, the rough Winds, and Cordelia the gentle Zephyr (cf. Gollancz, l. c., p. IX), it must be said that they are enabled to do so only by a gift of poetic imagination, not best employed in the study of folk-lore. The Goneril and Regan of Geoffrey are in fact more closely akin to Cinderella's ugly sisters. Their treatment of the father is no whit worse than that of the elder children in many a folk-tale, and is far surpassed in the Corsican variant (Cox, 222), where the old 'oppressed king' is imprisoned in a frightful dungeon and driven mad. It would be pleasant

to think that Shakespeare at least knew the name of his old hero to mean the sea, when we hear of Lear 'mad as the vext sea' (IV, iv, 2); but we have to face the fact that the poet had used the same simile for Hamlet's madness: 'Mad as the sea and wind when both contend Which is the mightier' (IV, i, 7); and cf. long before, the ravings of Titus Andronicus, III, i, 222, 225, a passage, by the way, which Furnivall implies (Leopold Sh., p. XXII) is not Shakespeare's

There is no trace of the Lear-story in Welsh national literature. Llyr and Kreiddylad both appear there in a totally different set of circumstances. Moreover in two Welsh translations probably made in the 12th century — a MS. of each exists dating c. 1200 — whereas Leir is recognised as Llyr, and other names in Geoffrey as those of Welsh legendary personages, the name Cordeilla either remains unaltered or is slightly corrupted,¹⁾ not in the direction of Kreiddylad or Kreurdilad. This perhaps says nothing against the identity of the names, but it affords a good reason why we should not regard the story as drawn from Welsh tradition current in Geoffrey's time; it certainly shows that Kreiddylad did not play any part in tradition resembling that of Cordeilla in the *Historia*. Thus there appears no objection to the conclusion to which we have been already led, that the story of Lear is primarily the 'loving like salt' story, adapted by Geoffrey to suit his book. For the triviality and the 'folk-flavour' of the salt, which would not 'become the house' of Brute, he substituted the epigrammatic *Quantum habes*, etc.; and perhaps it was in place of Cinderella-like adventures of the heroine (disguise, menial employment, love-sick prince, etc.) leading to the Happy Marriage, that he put in the less *märchenhaft* though hardly less romantic wooing of Cordeilla by the king of the Franks, Aganippus — 'however he came to his Greek

¹⁾ Cordeilla in the Red Book; Cordeylla, Chordeylla, Gordeylla in the Myvyrian text of Brut Gruffudd ap Arthur. See II § 7, and III § 2.

name'¹⁾ — which recalls the marriage of another *rex Francorum* with another disinherited younger sister, of Clovis with Clotilda, as related by Gregory of Tours.²⁾ But it is impossible to tell in what stage of development the story reached Geoffrey; whether already combined, as in some of the Cinderella-variants, particularly Nos. 211, 222, with the filial piety *motif*. Where he heard it, and where it originated, are also questions which seem to admit of no definite reply. There is surely no reason to think it of 'English perhaps British' origin, and the remote realm of nature-myths may be left undisturbed. Its existence implies a state of society in which salt was plentiful enough to be regarded as a thing of little price, which sets a limit, though a vague one, to its antiquity and distribution. It has been found in many countries and languages, in districts as remote as Sweden and Sicily, Patna and the Pyrenees, but no such tale has been found in Wales in the mouths of the people.³⁾ This does not say that it was not told in Wales in the 12th century, but we must remember that Geoffrey had been

¹⁾ The History of Great Britain, by John Milton, L. 1677, p. 25.

²⁾ A king of the Franks in Gallia some 1000 years before time is a remarkable anachronism, even for Geoffrey. It seems to me to point to the *Historia Francorum*. Both kings learn by report of the outcast princess's beauty, and send ambassadors to ask her in marriage; after some hesitation the request is granted, and the princess sent to her future husband. With Geoffrey II, xi, end, cf. the following passage from Gregorii Turonensis *Historia Francorum*, ed. Arndt and Krusch, Mon. Germ. Hist., II, 28:

Huius [Chilperichi] duas filias exilio condemnavit [Gundobadus]; quarum senior mutata veste Chrona, iunior Chrotchildis vocabatur. Porro Chlodovechus dum legationem in Burgundiam saepius mittit, Chrotchildis puella reperitur a legatis eius. Qui cum eam vidissent elegantem et sapientem et cognovissent, quod de regio esset genere, nuntiaverunt haec Chlodovecho regi. Nec moratus ille ad Gundobadum legationem mittit, eam sibi in matrimonio petens. Quod ille recusare metuens, tradidit eam viris; illique accipientes puellam, regi velotius repraesentant. Qua visa, rex valde gavisus, suo eam coniugio sociavit.

³⁾ Cf. Hartland, Folk-lore Journal, IV 311.

in England and in France. Its presence in India suggests that like so many other popular stories it may have passed to Europe from the East, the home of salt-symbolisation.¹⁾ However that may be, it is certain that Geoffrey was the first to tell it of Leir, newly created King of Britain, thus converting *märchen* into *saga*.

Filial ingratitude. The absurd love-test betrays its factitious nature, the irrational question being just one of a number of ways to elicit from the Clever Lass the demonstration of her superior mental powers. It is otherwise with the theme of the confiding father and the ungrateful children, which with its strong human interest was in Shakespeare's hands to eclipse the rudimentary incidents to which, as the folk-tales show, it attaches itself so readily. This element of the Lear-story is based on occurrences which repeat themselves frequently in human life. Witness the proverbs which Wavrin (c. 1450) works into his version (cf. II, § 32); and in recent times, Balzac's *Père Goriot* and Tourgeneff's *Lear of the Steppes*, works which indeed show traces of literary influence from Shakespeare, but are in the main undoubtedly inspired by actual happenings. There are a number of cognate stories in mediaeval literature and in folk-lore, related to Lear in the same way as those of Yayâtis, etc., and only so, namely in that they are exercises on the filial piety *motif*, without the love-test. Then it is very inexact to say that 'the plot [of Geoffrey's story] is utilized in one of Hans Sachs' 208 dramas.'²⁾ The comedy in question, 'Comedi mit 5 personen, der alt reich burger, der seinen sünden sein gut ubergab, und hat 5 actus', written in 1552, dramatises a 'histori wol . . . bekandt, Der stat Lunda in Engellandt.' The father retires from business, and gives all his property to his three sons, with each of whom he is to live in turn, a month at a time (Shakespeare is the first

¹⁾ Cf. Schleiden, *Das Salz*, Lpz. 1875, p. 91.

²⁾ Adee in *Bankside King Lear*, New York 1890, p. XLIII.

to bring similar conditions into the Lear-story). Things go from bad to worse with him, until by the advice of a friend he pretends to have a coffer-full of money. He is then well treated. At his death the sons find the treasure to be nothing but sand and pebbles, with an iron club on which stood in relief in 'griecischen gülden buchstaben: Welcher vatter hat so thumen mut, Und ubergibt sein hab und gut, Sein kinden bey seinem lebtagen, Soll man mit dem kolben todt schlagen' (Hans Sachs, ed. A. v. Keller, XII 115; cf. the 'Spruch' entitled 'Der Kolb im Kasten', VII 435). The same story is told in Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*, a collection of anecdotes grave and gay, from sermons, completed in 1519 (ed. Oesterley, 1866, No. 435). The ungrateful children, here three married daughters, are deluded in the same way; and on the club 'stund geschriebe also in engelischer sprach. Kunt vnd wissen sei aller welt, das man den mit dem kolben schlagen sol, der seinen kinden gibt, das er darnach manglen musz.'¹⁾ Oesterley, without claiming to be in any degree exhaustive (p. 11), refers to 24 mediaeval variants besides Hans Sachs. Cf. too, Simrock, *Quellen des Shakespeare*, 1870, p. 233. In a Moravian folk-tale the parents deceive their two ungrateful daughters similarly (Wenzig, *Westslavischer Märchenschatz*, Lpz. 1837, p. 86: *Der gute Rath*). Here there is nothing to choose between the children, but in another tale in Wenzig's collection (p. 276), a father marries his daughters with 300, 200 and 100 dollars dowry. Seven years later, able to work no more, he goes to his eldest daughter for help. She offers him a rope, the second a beggar's bag, but the third receives him kindly, and gives him a cake. Herewith cf. Gottschalci *Hollen Praeceptorium Divinum*, Coloniae 1484,

¹⁾ Wavrin (c. 1450) makes Leir in his distress recall a similar saying: — 'Hellas! que joy mal entendu le proverbe qui dist en ceste maniere: De ce bastun ou dun plus grant Soit il feru au front devant, Qui donne tout a son enfant, Que puis lui en va demandant.' See below, II § 56.

ciiij A: — A rich man married his three daughters well, and then simulated poverty. His eldest daughter maintained him for a while, but at length made her husband an excuse 'for not helping him further. The father said with a groan, 'Would that I had a halter'. — 'What would you do with a halter?' — 'I would hang myself.' The elder daughters treat him like the foul fiend treated poor Tom: the first secretly arranged that he might find a halter to hang himself quickly; from the second he obtained a knife in the same manner. Then he sent to the youngest to say that unless she gave up her only son her father must die. She replied, 'If I had ten sons I would give them all to save him', and sent her only son. The father gives a feast, and invites his daughters and their husbands. There he produces the halter, and returns it to the eldest, bidding her use it on herself; to the second the knife with the same advice; but to the youngest he restores her son, and promises her all his property at his death. — The version of the Lear-story in the *Livere des Reis de Brittanie* (c. 1283; cf. II, § 12) seems to have been led out of its course by a variant of this analogue.

Though its treatment by Geoffrey is the earliest known in mediæval literature, it is not to be supposed that the theme was by any means a new one. Yet there is a limit to its age. There appears to have existed among all Indo-European and some other races the custom of doing away with men incapacitated by age and sickness. Its traces are found in Norse saga, and it survived to comparatively modern times among other peoples of Northern Europe: Old men 'tired of the feast of life' were disposed of by means of the 'family-cliff' or the 'family-club.'¹) Simrock (p. 233) writes of such a club ('the holy mawle') in England, and of a representation of the usage in the church at Grossenlinden,

¹) Cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, Leipzig 1896, p. 230; Elton, *Origins of Engl. History*, p. 91.

together with other relics of barbarism overcome by Christianity. The anthropologist would doubtless see in this custom something more than mere barbarism. The holy mawle was probably the sacrificial club used for the god-making ceremony of primitive ancestor-worship,¹⁾ preserved by the Church as *spolia opima* of vanquished paganism, and the old men who go to voluntary death the victims of their religious convictions. But clearly where this custom obtained, however much a dead parent was honoured, there could be little of filial piety, as we understand it, towards an aged, helpless parent. The refined sentiment displayed by Cordeilla towards her father could have had little part in the ethics of the ancient Britons, and there appears no prospect whatever of finding this element of the Leir-story in the 'remote realm of simple nature-myths.' Geoffrey transfers to the 9th century B. C. a motive of very much later date in Britain, and it is practically certain that he laid Church property under contribution when he interwove with the 'loving like salt' story some such moral tale or parable as those given above, inculcating the 5th Commandment — unless indeed he found the two already in combination — and adapted it to the requirements of his King of Britain. It seems, in fact, that the pagan ancestor-worship was directly combated by the Church by means of such moral tales, for if any confidence is to be placed in appearances, the mysterious club of the Schimpf und Ernst story is identifiable by its gnomie inscription with the sacrificial club, the holy mawle. — Later on, other churchmen restore this element of the Leir-story to its original purpose, using it as an illustration for the 5th Commandment (in the *Gesta Romanorum*; Herolt, *Gottschalcus*, *Valerius Herberger*; cf. III, § 25), but in order to show virtue rewarded they have to omit the unhappy sequel with Cordeilla's suicide. For in Geoffrey's *Historia* the days of the child who honours her parent are not long in the land.

¹⁾ Cf. Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, Ch. XII.

The Tragic Sequel. The folk-*tales* end happily. There is always 'fiddle in the fo'c'sle' when the Outcast Heroine puts into port. She ends her adventures with a happy marriage, reconciliation with her father, and the best of prospects of living happy ever after. The Leir-story proper also ends happily with the restoration of the king by Cordeilla and her husband. But Geoffrey does not stop there. After his restoration Leir reigns three years, dies and is buried. But Aganippus dies too; Cordeilla is left a widow, and we hear of no children. She succeeds to the throne, but after a short reign is deposed by the sons of Goneril and Regan, and cast into prison, where in despair at the loss of her kingdom she kills herself. As with Shakespeare the attempt has been made to interpret Cordelia's fate in accordance with 'the chimerical notion of poetic justice' (Addison), as the expiation of that 'most small fault' (I, iv, 288), so San-Marte would have us see in Cordeilla's subsequent misfortunes the punishment she incurs by returning an enigmatic answer, *tentare illum cupiens*.¹⁾ The utter injustice of such a verdict is illustrated by the folk-*tales* When Cap o' Rushes or either of her twenty-odd doubles, tells her father she loves him like salt, she is no more or less guilty than Cordeilla, but she is not condemned on that account to end her days in prison! The unhappy sequel has nothing whatever to do with the answer, but is an independent addition of undeserved suffering, which we may ascribe, I think, to Celtic influence. An element of tragedy is one of the characteristics of Welsh, and generally of Celtic tradition. In the Welsh legends in the Mabinogion 'the better characters are constantly represented as undergoing suffering'. And especially this seems to hold true of Llyr and his family. In addition to the 'cruel imprisonment' of Llyr in the Triads, 'the story of Bendigeitfran son of Llyr

¹⁾ P. 221: wödurch sie die Nemesis gegen sich reizt; denn das Kind soll den Vater nicht versuchen.

is largely a story of suffering, culminating in the narrative of his death'. Another branch of the mabinogi, the story of Branwen daughter of Llyr, a favourite heroine in Welsh literature, introduces 'the undeserved suffering of women, which enters so largely into Welsh legend'.¹⁾ In Ireland, too, the Sad Fate of the Children of Lir is one of the Three Sorrowful Tales of Erin.²⁾ There is nothing in these legends specifically resembling Cordeilla's fate — her suicide in (despair at the loss of her kingdom is apparently a reminiscence of the end of Boudicca (Boadicea), from Tacitus Ann. XIV, 37), one of the authors Geoffrey is said by Zimmer to have read³⁾ — but the traditional pathos associated with Llyr and his children seems to have been that which led Geoffrey, on the one hand, to attach to Llyr's royal namesake a story which is also 'largely a story of suffering',⁴⁾

¹⁾ Anwyl, Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil., I 277 ff.

²⁾ Cf. More Celtic Fairy Tales ed. Joseph Jacobs, L. 1894, p. 1 ff., 219 f.

³⁾ Nennius Vindictus, p. 278.

⁴⁾ In much the same way, perhaps, Shakespeare chose the 'fatal', 'ominous' name of Gloucester for the bearer of the sorrows of the Paphlagonian unkind king. Cf. 3 H. VI: II, vi, 106.

Rich. Let me be duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous.

and Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) II, 1:

Meercraft. I think we have found a place to fit you now, sir.
Gloucester.

Fitzdottrel. O no, I'll none.

Meer. Why, sir?

Fitz. 'Tis fatal.

Meer. That you say right in. Spenser, I think the younger
Had his last honour thence. But he was an earl.

Fitz. I know not that, sir. But Thomas of Woodstock
I'm sure was duke, and he was made away
At Calice, as duke Humphrey was at Bury:
And Richard the Third, you know what end he came to.

The affinity of Edmund, 'earl of Gloucester' (III, v, 18) with Richard III. has been noticed.

but particularly to doom the good Cordeilla to further undeserved misfortune and to a death which, to quote Mrs. Lennox on Cordelia's end, 'is a very improper Catastrophe for a person of such exemplary Virtue'.

The claim for Celtic origin cannot be substantiated for the story proper, to the happy ending; its two elements, the love-test and the filial piety *motif*, are seen to be international, the one taken by Geoffrey from folk-lore, the other from church-lore. They supply the material for that 'lamentable comedy', the Old Play of Leir. But of far greater importance for us is the thoroughly Celtic element introducing the tragic note in the unhappy sequel, for it was the undeserved suffering of Cordeilla, culminating in her suicide, which led Shakespeare to conceive the whole story in a form of tragic unity, and may therefore be said to have given us the Tragedy of King Lear (cf. III, § 25.)

This chapter may well end with a reference to the beautiful Breton ballad of Saint Henori, daughter of the King of Brest, where the same sad note is struck. Her father had never loved her, it begins, but he had banished and disinherited her. He falls sick and can only be saved by the virgin milk of one of his daughters. The two favoured daughters refuse, but the third exclaims, 'Que le Seigneur Dieu soit béni, puisque vous êtes obligé de recourir à moi, mon père!¹⁾ Mettez-vous à genoux, je vais délacer ma poitrine'. A serpent bites her, but her father (in a variant, an angel) consoles her, and she lives to undergo painful adventures of the Manekine type.²⁾ — Victor Hugo's remarks on Cordelia may serve as comment on the Breton

¹⁾ So Layamon's Cordoille gives thanks to her pagan god (v. 3534):

Appollin mi lauerð ich thankie the
That mi fæder is icumme to me.

²⁾ F. M. Luzel, Gwerziou Breiz-Izel: Chants populaires de la Basse-Bretagne. Lorient 1868, I 160 ff.

heroine as well: — Lear, c'est l'occasion de Cordélia. La maternité de la fille sur le père; sujet profond; maternité vénérable entre toutes, si admirablement traduite par la légende de cette romaine, nourrice, au fond d'un cachot, de son père vieillard. La jeune mamelle près de la barbe blanche, il n'est point de spectacle plus sacré. Cette mamelle filiale, c'est Cordélia.

II.

Intermediate versions and the Ballad.

The *Historia regum Britanniae* had a great vogue. It supplied a want. The Normans felt a natural interest in the past of the country they had won. The rapid fusion of the Welsh with the Norman settlers in South Wales, and the return to the old country of large numbers of Bretons, whose national traditions of Arthur had already spread to the Normans on the continent, help to explain the success with the dominant race of a work which in the garb of sober history offered such attractive pictures of their allies, at the expense of the common foe, the Saxons.¹⁾ The objections of such critics as William of Newburgh and Giraldus Cambrensis were ineffective, and the new History was spread throughout the country and on the continent in an endless multiplication of copies. Over 170 MSS. exist, of which 27 are of the 12th century.²⁾ It was early turned into the language of the conquerors; at least three French translations were made in the 12th century. At the revival of English literature it at once took out letters of naturalisation, and figures thereafter, with something of a foreign air, in many English chronicles. Under the Tudors, whose British ancestry was traced by a commission appointed by Henry VII, renewed interest was taken in Geoffrey's fables, and in spite of Polydore Vergil, Camden, and others, they were as late as

¹⁾ Cf. G. Paris, *Manuel de l'ancien français*, § 54; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V 210; Zimmer, *GGA* 1890, p. 789 ff.

²⁾ Cf. T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue, Rolls Ser.*, I, 1 341 ff.

Milton — who in his *History of Britain* repeats them, with some reserve — ‘defended by many, deny’d utterly by few.’

So we must prepare to follow the story of Lear on a long pilgrimage. But it may be said at the outset that for many abridgments to be mentioned, version is a courtesy title, and they will not detain us long. Strictly one cannot speak of a *Lear-saga*. There is no sign until the 16th century of any popular interest in the fortunes of the pseudo-king. Even in Wales he seems not to have passed beyond the pages of the *Bruts*. Wace and Layamon had additions to make on the Arthurian legend, but for the legend of Lear they are as entirely dependent on Geoffrey (Layamon through Wace) as the Brut Tysilio, and ultimately every other version. Though it is rarely possible to speak of the growth of the story, since Geoffrey tells it at greater length than most of his followers can afford, yet these versions show an endless diversity of detail. It is clear that many writers, beginning with Henry of Huntingdon, do not regard the story as authentic history, and are not deterred from giving events a different turn, if the narrative can be thereby shortened. Obscurities in the original, misunderstandings, scribal errors lead to much variation. Sympathy with the heroine is partly accountable for the changes in her Answer, and for the occasional palliation of her sufferings. Here and there the story takes a step in the direction of the folk-tales. Later chroniclers who, like Fabian, labour to attain to historic accuracy, look upon a number of their predecessors as of equivalent authority, upon ‘Matthew of Westminster’, for instance, as a witness to the fortunes of Leir of equal credibility with Geoffrey. Elizabethans interested in the subject had several varying accounts within easy reach. So that the pedigree of the story becomes a complicated affair, characterised by continual reversion to the original, except along the line through Wace. These variations, however, will be examined once for all in Chapter III when Shakespeare’s knowledge of the story is investigated. In

the discussion of intermediate versions, only so much detail is gone into as is necessary for the appreciation of each, and to show its sources. Particulars as to their authors are reduced to a minimum; to transcribe the *Dictionary of National Biography* is not part of my plan.

1. **Henry of Huntingdon** (H H). First in the field appears the abridgment made in 1139 in the letter to *Warinus Brito* mentioned above (p. 2).¹) It is suggested (Ward, Cat. Rom. I 210) that in his abstract of Geoffrey the archdeacon left gaps to be filled in from memory, which plausibly explains why we are at once confronted with a surprisingly free paraphrase. The story is completely rewritten, the original wording retained only in the final sentence of Cordeilla's answer (*Quantum habes etc.*), which here, as often later, forms the whole of her speaking part. Such data as the length of the reigns of 'Lier' and Cordeilla are carefully noted, but the story itself was plainly regarded as a moral tale the details of which might be altered at will. This is sufficiently indicated by the fact that while the anachronism in *rex Francorum* is avoided by a change to *rex Gallorum*, Cordeilla's marriage is held up as a dispensation of Providence: — *Deus autem qui eruditis interest cogitationibus suscitavit animum Aganippi . . .*, and that 'Lier' being driven out of his kingdom by the dukes at the instigation of his daughters — all particulars of their ill-treatment, the train and its reductions, etc., are omitted —

¹) Naturally one turns to the Rolls edition of the *Historia Anglorum* or the text of this letter, but in vain. The author inserted the letter in Bk. VIII of his 4th edition, 1145, but, the editor says, it 'has not the smallest historical value', and (p. XV) 'no part of Bk. VIII has ever been printed but the epistle to Walter.' For these excellent reasons he decides to leave it still unprinted. Fortunately T. Arnold's bibliographical knowledge was here no less at fault than his judgment in historical value. This important epistle to *Warinus* had been printed in the *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, ed. Delisle, Rouen 1872, I 97 ff; in *Dom Morice, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire . . de Bretagne*, Paris 1742, I 166 ff., and no doubt elsewhere.

fleeing to Gallia and falling at Cordeilla's feet, begs her with tears and in phraseology partly biblical, to vouchsafe him food and raiment: — 'sempiternum tibi sit praeconium, ut sicut illae bona malis recompensant, sic tu malis bona remutues, victumque michi saltem vestitumque non abneges.' At the king's restoration HH finds it opportune to point the moral: — 'Hinc ergo tractum est: Moderate dicta semper sunt aprecianda.' Cordeilla's suicide is not dissimulated, but she was taken prisoner *fraudulenter* and killed herself *viriliter*.

It is unlikely that HH would have put fresh answers but to the same flattering effect into the mouths of the elder daughters, if writing with the original before him. There is no reason to think that the story as he had read it differed in any way from its present form. In one curious particular at least Geoffrey's two recensions (cf. Ward, p. 210) must have been identical. HH must have read with every one else at the first mention of the two dukes: 'dedit praedictas puellas duas duobus ducibus, Cornubiae videlicet et Albaniae.' He is the first of many to draw the natural, but, as it turns out, erroneous inference that Goneril married Cornwall, Regan Albany. Epitomising a series of incidents he writes: 'deditque primogenitam duci magno Britanniae cum regni parte australi; the second cum parte boreali' (cf. Ch. III, § 3). — This version was consulted c. 1480 by Pierre le Baud (cf. § 36).

2. **Alfred of Beverley** (ABev.). The extraordinary vogue which Geoffrey's book soon attained in clerical circles is attested by Alfred, priest and treasurer at Beverley in Yorkshire. Much as Caedmon was ashamed of his inability to sing, so this poor man confesses he often blushed when yarns were spun from the history of the Britons, at his ignorance on the subject. The year 1149 appears to be the date (cf. Ward, Cat. Rom. I 212) he refers to in an instructive passage: — 'Ferebantur tunc temporis per ora multorum narrationes de hystoria Britonum, notamque rusticitatis incurbat, qui talium narrationum scientiam non habebat. Fateor

tamen propter antiquitatis reverenciam, quae mihi semper veneracioni fuerat, tamen propter narrandi urbanitatem, quae mihi minime, junioribus vero memoriter et jucunde tunc aderat, inter tales confabulatores saepe erubesceram, quod praefatam hystoriam necdum attigeram.' He borrowed the book by 'Britannicus', and, facilities for a full transcript lacking, made extracts, which form the first part of his *Annales*. He had little ambition, it seems, to become a confabulator: only the seeming historical facts concerning Leir attract him; of the story he gives but the barest outline, and refers to the *hystoria Britonum* for a fuller account (Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales ed. Hearne, 1716, p. 1 ff., 14 f., 22).

But already the *Historia* had ceased to be the private property of clerks; it had been rendered into the language of the nobility. Before 1147 Geffrei Gaimar turned it into Anglo-Norman verse at the bidding of Lady Constance, the wife of his patron Ralph FitzGilbert, a nobleman of the north country. But of Gaimar's work, only *Lestorie des Engles*, from Hengist to 1087, is preserved. The earlier part, his history of the Britons, is lost. (*Lestorie des Engles*... solum Geffrei Gaimar, ed. Hardy and Martin, Rolls Ser., I 275, II p. IX).

3. **Wace.** Better fortune attended the translation made in 1155 by Wace, and dedicated to Queen Eleanor, Henry II's consort, a book of about 15,300 lines in octosyllabic couplets, 412 lines of which tell of Leir and Cordeilla.¹⁾

¹⁾ The word *Brut* in the sense of chronicle is not, as one often reads, e. g. in Ten Brink² I 166, of Celtic origin, but = *Brutus*. The earliest known use of the name in the transferred sense occurs in an early 13th century MS. of Geoff., in the Brit. Mus. (Lansdowne 732), in the rubric heading, 'Hic incipit liber brutus de gestis anglorum.' It is first found in French (*Brut*) in 1252 in a Paris MS. of Wace (Bibl. du roi, No. 7515). It is not found in Welsh till the 15th century (J. G. Evans, Text of the Bruts, p. VI; cf. NED).

Wace's *Estoire des Bretons*, or as the editor calls it, *Roman de Brut*¹⁾ ranks next to the original in importance as the basis of subsequent versions of the Lear-story. Besides serving as model to Layamon, and, except for a few lines, to Robert Mannyng, Wace's account was used by Wavrin, and alone furnished the abridgment in the French prose *Brut*, which is the original of both stories in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Theodosius as well as Leyre), and was translated into English as the Chronicle of *Brute*, which when printed became known as Caxton's Chronicle. This printed book, again, was Rastell's authority, and Warner's for his version in *Albion's England*, and was consulted by Higgins for his contribution on Cordila to the *Mirror for Magistrates*. These two versifications were drawn upon by the author of the *Old Play*, through which finally, as well as through the *Mirror*, the influence of Wace is to be traced in Shakespeare. See the Pedigree. A detailed enumeration of the variations of Wace from Geoffrey would serve no purpose here. There will be frequent need to recur to these minutiae (cf. III §§ 3, 4 etc.; II § 53, a, i, notes 1, 2). Speaking summarily, Wace keeps closely to the original, and adds nothing new to the story. Here and there a clever transposition — as of the disorder of the knights from the narration of events in Regan's household, as well as Goneril's reproach to her father on his return (increpabat eum senem, etc.) to the elder daughter's complaint to her husband (v. 1911 ff.), or of Leir's lament during the passage to France to an expansion of his gloomy meditations before leaving Goneril — allows a quicker tempo without much loss to the story. The avoidance of obscurities (as *maiore parte*, cf. III § 5, and *tertium inter principes*, cf. III § 15),

¹⁾ Le Roman de Brut, par Wace, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen 1836, v. 1693—2114; but the line following v. 1769 is numbered 1780. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*⁶, p. 111 ff. gives 386 lines (1713—2098 in the complete edition) in Anglo-Norman orthography. As far as possible the latter text is used here.

and a preference for direct speech — five times supplied from the narrative, once substituted for indirect — add clearness and brightness, while the unassuming naïve form, the couplet which the writer of many ‘romanz’ knew how to handle so well, is better fitted to the matter than Geoffrey’s Latin (cf. Ten Brink² I 221).

4. The **Münchener Brut** (MB). The Anglo-French versification of the British history preserved at Munich in a unique MS. is perhaps of earlier date than that of Wace, certainly not much later.¹⁾ There is a possibility that it may after all be part of Gaimar’s work, supposed lost (cf. Gröber, Grundriß II, I, 473). It does not treat exclusively of the kings of Britain, and is thought to be the translation of a compilation from Geoffrey and other works.²⁾ If so, that compilation must have contained Geoffrey’s account of Leir and Cordeilla in full, not abridged as in Matthew Paris (cf. § 6) and the other compilations known to us. There is no attempt at curtailment. The poet is content to follow the Latin throughout, omitting very little except *tertium inter principes*, but on the other hand readily amplifying. He dwells at some length on the battle, Leir’s burial, etc., and on the embassy from France to Leir with what may be a professional interest in diplomatic service. These expansions, numerous lines whose only purpose is to provide a rhyme, recapitulations, give the version a diffuse character. It takes 432 couplets of octosyllabics to cover the same ground as the 206 of Wace. To depict strong emotion, whether anger, indignation, or grief, the poet has only the singularly inadequate formula, ‘a poi que il de duel n’esrage’, three times applied to Leir (v. 2883, 3092, 3170), and once

¹⁾ Der Münchener Brut ed. Hofmann and Vollmöller, Halle 1877, v. 2736—7, 2759—3620; v. 2738—2758 relate Elijah’s rain-miracle, mentioned by Geoffrey in the preceding chapter as contemporaneous with Bladud’s making the hot baths at Bath.

²⁾ ib. p. XVIII; cf. Gröber, Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1877, p. 755.

to Cordeille (v. 3326). To counteract which may be quoted from the comforting message which Cordeille sends her father by the trusty squire (v. 3347 ff.):

“Ami”, fait ele au messagier,

 “De moie part lo roi conforte,
 “Di li, meaz voldroie estre morte
 “Que li falisse por avoir.

 “De cors li ai estei luntaine,
 “Or li serai del cuer prochaine”.¹⁾

For the explanation of an addition to Geoffrey common to MB and Wace, see III § 20 towards end.

Five fragments, 3360 lines, of another 12th century translation of Geoffrey, in monorhymed tirades of alexandrines, do not include the part relating to Lear (cf. Ward, *Cat. Rom.* I 272; Wendeburg, *Über . . . Hs. Brit. Mus. Harl.* 1605. Erlanger Diss. 1881).

5. **MS. Brit. Mus. Reg. 13 A. XXI** (MS. Reg.). This MS. agrees with Wace for the first 52 lines, and then for about 7750 lines, to the birth of Arthur, a totally different and abbreviated version of Geoffrey, evidently the work of a native of England, is introduced; after which the text of Wace is resumed (Madden, *Layamon*, I p. XXXIX). The publication of the work in *Romanische Forschungen* was promised over twenty years ago (cf. Wendeburg, l. c., p. 5). Leir's history begins on fol. 48, col. 2, and to Cordeille's death occupies 264 lines, meant to be octosyllabic, in couplets. It is taken direct from Geoffrey, and shows no trace of Wace. This version has an advantage over many in that it aims at telling the story of the conflict between the king and his daughters, and does not hamper itself with details immaterial to that purpose. Like the Ballad (cf. § 57),

¹⁾ Cf. *King Lear*, I, i, 117: 'And as a stranger to my heart and me, Hold thee . . .' — Somebody proposed to emendate: heart and eye!

it leaves the two dukes out; there is no shadow of excuse for Goneril and Regan. Geoffrey spread events over a long period to allow Cordeilla's nephews time to grow up. Here the intervals between successive stages are cancelled and Leir's misfortunes crowd upon him. There is no deposition from half the kingdom *post multum temporis*, but the king gives his daughters all, and goes to stay with Goneril with forty knights, but

Cum demi an suiurne at, [elapso biennio]
Gonorille sen corezat;
Sa gent lui rouet departir,
E sul .x. humes retenir.
Li reis se prest a curucer.
Si fet ses humes tost munter.¹⁾ —
A Ragan si sen alat.

In the Latin, Leir is well received by Cornwall, though within a year trouble arises. Here he makes no stay with Regan. He told her what her sister had done, and she replies —

E ele respont mult ferement,
“Ke fetes *vus* de si *grant* gent?
“En treis serganz auez asez,
“Ne sai purquei plus en aiez”.

It's time for him to take to his bed,

“Kar par pais ne poez error.
“Si suiurner volez od nus,
“Nen suffrum *quen* eiez plus.
“V aitant le *vus* ferez,
“V de ci *vus* turnerez.”

When the king heard this, he nearly went mad! He returned to the first with his ten, but Gonorille when she saw him coming, began to mock him:

¹⁾ Cf. King Lear, I, iv, 274: Darkness and devils! Saddle my horses! Call my train together!

“Ni auez gueres espleite,
“Quant si tost estes repaire”.

and upbraids him shamelessly. He was not content with ten; now he shall have but one. Then the king in his anger curses Goneril:

Li reis sen prent a corucer,
E maudit lure quele fut ne,
E quele vnkes fut engendre.

He calls his men together, gives them all he possesses, and sets out with only two companions, a squire and a page (cf. III § 15). Here as in Wace follows his lament. After his arrival in France, the narrative keeps more closely to the original. — The dignity of the king, by no means content, as in Geoffrey, to remain with Goneril with a single knight, and his impetuosity, call up King Lear. The anonymous author by eliminating intervals of time and space centres our interest in his dramatic presentment of the conflict between the proud, headstrong king and his merciless children. One can only agree with Madden (Layamon, III 320) that the treatment of this part of the narrative is much superior to that of Wace, and regret that the publication of the work is so long delayed.

6. **Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster** (MW). The version in the three Latin chronicles bearing these names is a 12th century abridgment from Geoffrey made for the original St. Albans compilation. When Roger of Wendover became historiographer at St. Albans he incorporated that compilation in his own chronicle to 1235. He was succeeded and his work eclipsed by Matthew Paris, whose *Chronica Majora* contain the St. Albans compilation to 1188, Wendover's work from 1189 to 1235 and his own to 1259. “Matthew of Westminster” is an imaginary personage, the Christian name being that of Matthew Paris, with Westminster added by conjecture. The *Flores Historiarum* bearing this name, continued to

1327, were printed by Archbishop Parker in two editions, 1567 and 1570,¹⁾ one of which was the 'Floure of Histories' used by Higgins (cf. § 48). Roger of Wendover entitles the section on Leir *jocundaria relatio*, and constantly makes trifling verbal changes which do not affect the sense.²⁾ Matthew Paris' sole contribution is a pun: for *commota est Cordeilla* he writes *commota est corde illa*.³⁾ To a great extent the compiler transcribed Geoffrey, but in marked contrast to the author of the version last mentioned (§ 5), he saw in the relation of Leir's sufferings at the hands of his daughters nothing beyond the possibility of a short cut: — Leir is deposed, and not knowing what to do, goes to his two elder daughters to ask them to keep him with 40 knights. Both together they behave just as, in the original, Goneril does at his return, abuse him and offer him one knight (cf. § 48, end). Here again the lament is transposed.

7. The Welsh translations. **Brut Tysilio** (Tys). Naturally the *Historia* was early translated into Welsh. The thirty known MSS., the oldest dating from the beginning of the 13th century, Mr. J. G. Evans divides into three groups. The first has a representative in the *Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit* in the Red Book of Hergest (c. 1375—1380), the same version as in the Dingestow Court MS., which is

¹⁾ Flores Historiarum per Matthaeum Westmonasteriensem collecti, ed. Luard, Rolls Ser., I p. IXff., p. 38ff.

²⁾ Rogeri de Wendover Chronica sive Flores Historiarum, ed. Coxe, L. 1841, Engl. Hist. Soc., p. Xff.

³⁾ Matthaei Parisiensis . . Chronica Majora ed. Luard. Rolls Ser., p. 31. In the Corpus Christi MS., the editor tells us, at the foot of the page on which the story begins, is a representation of Leir and his daughters. Cordelia is saying, "Tant as, tant vauz, tant te pris, pere." The corresponding line in Wace is "Tant as, tant vals, et jo tant t'ain"; in MB, "Tant as, tant vaus, et je tant t'aim", in MS. Reg. "Tant as, tant vals, et io tant t'aim." The quotation apparently points to another, unknown French rendering.

perhaps the oldest of the thirty.¹⁾ Ignorance of Welsh prevents me from comparing the Red Book version with Geoffrey, but something is to be learnt from the names. The rendering of 'civitatem super fluvium Soram' by 'dinas ar auon Soram' tells a tale. (George Owen Harry in 1604 writing of 'Lhyr' from a Welsh source states, 'he builded the City of Caerlhyr on the Riuer of Soram'; cf. § 54). 'Cordeilla' and 'leissestyr' (Geoffrey: Leir-cestre) are also instructive. — The second group is represented by the text printed in the Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales, L. 1801, II 81—390, under the title Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur, which is to a great extent in close agreement with a Shirburn Castle MS. of 1200—1240 (Evans, p. XV). Of this text P. Roberts says that it 'agrees closely with Geoffrey's translation' (*sic*), and is 'somewhat laboured and more diffuse than Brut Tysilio'. — In the third group, headed Compiled Versions, among companions none earlier than 1471, stands the paper MS. of 1695 (Jesus Coll. 28) from which, 'though they gravely affirm that it was taken from the Red Book of Hergest', the editors of the Myvyrian Archaeology obtained the text which they printed under the title of Brut Tysilio (Evans, p. XV). Tysilio, a 7th century bishop of St. Asaph, was decided by Lewis Morris, in 1727, on very slight evidence, to be the author of the original Welsh chronicle, Geoffrey's *liber vetustissimus* (cf. Ward, Cat. Rom. I 254 f.). Ten Brink showed conclusively the true relation of the so-called Brut Tysilio to Geoffrey,²⁾ but Simrock (Quellen des Sh., 1879 II 229) still regarded the Lear-story as derived by Geoffrey from Bishop Tysilio. His error was repeated in A. W. Ward's History of Engl. Dram. Poetry, Tysilio being re-christened Tyrsilios, and stands uncorrected in the new edition of that work (1899, II 174).

¹⁾ Rhys and Evans, Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest, Oxf. 1890, p. XIII ff.

²⁾ Jahrb. f. rom u. engl. Lit. IX, 1868, p. 241 ff.

The English translation of the 'Brut Tysilio'¹⁾ plainly shows it to have been entirely dependent on Geoffrey for the part we are concerned with. 'Dedit praedictas puellas duas duobus ducibus, Cornubiae videlicet et Albaniae' becomes 'gave his two other daughters in marriage; the eldest to the Prince of Cornwall, and the second to the Prince of the North', but later on 'Goronilla', the eldest, turns out to be the wife of 'Maglawn, the Prince of Albany', as in Geoffrey (cf. *supra* § 1, and III § 3). Cordeilla's answer is misunderstood, and rationalised as in many other versions (cf. III § 24). Intervals are omitted or reduced, so that her nephews are about eight years old when they 'object to the government under a woman, as disgraceful' (cf. III § 26). To misapprehension on the part of either the translator into Welsh or of Roberts is due, no doubt, the rendering of 'tantum vales' by 'in proportion to . . . health', and the statement that the force levied in Gallia consisted 'more especially of cavalry' (Geoffrey, *omnem armatum militem*). In general the translation must have been closer than any yet mentioned, though Roberts's English rendering, somewhat florid in style, gives another impression at first sight.

8. **Layamon** (Lay). About 1205, a lay priest living on the Welsh border, at Lower Arley, in Worcestershire, on the Severn, Layamon the son of Leovenath, with a lack of racial prejudice which arouses Freeman's indignation,²⁾ turned Wace's *Estoire des Bretons* into English. With some additions, mainly from Welsh tradition, the 15,300 lines of Wace are expanded into 32,241 lines which represent metrically a transitional stage between the old alliterative verse and the rhyming couplet. The 412 lines of Wace which interest us

¹⁾ P. Roberts, *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*, L. 1811, p. 41 ff.

²⁾ Norm. Conq. V 581: 'it was treason against the tongue and history of his race for Layamon to translate that Brut into English'.

become 876 in Layamon's *Brut*.¹⁾ The question whether Layamon used Geoffrey as well as Wace will hardly be settled without a better edition of Wace.²⁾ Wülcker says no (PBB III 543) but Kölbing had his doubts (cf. Arthour and Merlin, 1890, p. CXXVII) which might have been strengthened perhaps by the following consideration. The reason in Geoffrey for the rebellion of Cordeilla's nephews is: 'indignati sunt Britanniam foemineae potestati subditam esse.' No such reason is given by Wace and his other followers, but Layamon has it (v. 3744 ff.):

for hit was swuthe mouchel scome,
& ec swithe muchel grame,
that scholde a quene
beon king in thisse londe.

Craig (King Lear, 1901, p. XLIV) says that Geoffrey is also followed, but gives no reason for his opinion. This is the only passage in the whole narrative that could arouse the suspicion of any other authority but Wace. Layamon, however, makes many additions of his own, and this is a fairly natural one, for Englishmen of his time were not used to the idea of a queen.³⁾

Of all pre-Shakespearian versions this of Layamon is certainly the best worth reading for its own sake. It was

¹⁾ ed. Madden, 1847, I 123 ff., v. 2903—3778. The whole extract also in Thorpe's *Analecta*, 1834, p. 143 ff.

²⁾ The printed text gives Leir 50 knights, but Lay, RM, FPB agree in making the number 40. Cf. Madden on Lay. v. 3274. Again where Cordeilla reigns 'lone tans' in Le R. de L.'s text, 2099, it is evident from Geoff, Lay, RM, FPB, that the editor follows an inferior MS; and that the *v. l.* 'cinq ans' is the correct reading.

³⁾ At Matilda's accession in 1141 only part of the ceremonies were gone through; there was no crowning or unction, and she was called lady, not queen (Freeman, N. C. V 304 f., 200). Possibly since Wace dedicated his work to Queen Eleanor he intentionally omitted the passage to avoid calling up unpleasant memories. Cf. Lappenberg-Pauli, III 3: Auch Eleonore empfang die Krone einer Königin von England; das Volk aber rief: es lebe der König!

an advantage for the poet that he followed a more lucid and graphic account than Geoffrey. As it is there are one or two inconsistencies. Layamon takes all that Wace has to offer, but throughout he both expands and intensifies. A characteristic noted by Ten Brink, 'Die bei Wace häufig nur angedeuteten Situationen malt er gerne aus', is well exemplified by the passage where Lear's swain secretly brings to the queen the news of her father's arrival in quest of help. In Wace this is barely narrated, and her reception of the sad tidings not depicted, but here (v. 3526 ff.) we have a picture not unworthy of comparison with the lovely torso in Act IV, Sc. III:

The quene Cordoille
 sæt long swiðe stille.
 heo iward reod eon hire benche
 swilche it were of wine scenche,
 and the swain sæt at hire fæit.
 sone ther after him wes the bet.
 Tha alles vppe abræc,
 hit wes god that heo spaec,
 "Appollin mi lauerð ich thankie the,
 "that mi fæder is icumme to me.....

Leir meanwhile is waiting outside the city (*expectans autem extra urbem, misit nuncium, etc.*). From the line in Wace (v. 2027), simply 'Defors la cite s'arestut' there somehow came the suggestion for another picture (v. 3510 f.): 'Leir king wende on anne feld, & reste hine on solden' (cf. v. 3602 f.). Layamon is full of such instances. His figures stand out in strong relief on a definite background of realistic circumstance. Like no other epic version his vivid narrative readily divides up into dramatic scenes. First the court scene, the king, sitting in state (ther he on æthelan seat, v. 2961), requires the declarations of love in the presence of his thanes (v. 3005). Then Cordoille in disgrace, as in her bower she abode, and tholed the mind-care (v. 3115). Later we have an early instance of a curtain-lecture, Gornioille bitterly complaining to her husband, in bed where

they lay together (v. 3285), and overriding his sleepy objections. And so on.

More than in MS. Reg there are additions here which recall King Lear. Most striking is the way Shakespeare is foreshadowed in the difference of character in Albany and Cornwall, on which cf. III § 10. Then this Leir, like King Lear, goes a-hunting; at least his hawks and hounds are several times mentioned together with his thanes and swains. Both swear by Apollo.¹⁾ If Steevens had read Layamon he would perhaps have kept back his sarcastic rejoinder to Malone's apt note on I, 1, 162 (cf. III § 26). The *New Variorum* would be less in bulk, too, by the notes on I, 1, 126: 'Hence and avoid my sight!' if before Heath started the discussion some one had pointed out that 400 years earlier another impulsive Lear addressed a similar command to another Cordelia without stopping in his unreasoning fury to consider if he were acting reasonably. In both cases, as Malone objects in the one case, the inconsistency is perfectly suited to Lear's character. With K. L. I, 1, 126 cf. Lay 3079ff., where the king passing sentence on his daughter, threatens her with death²⁾, and exclaims 'Fly out my eyesight!', yet continues to address her (v. 3093, Thine sustren etc). If the critics are right who assert that Shakespeare's Lear is a study of Celtic temperament, one might make the same claim for Layamon, who certainly was excellently situated for such a study. The violence of the king's

¹⁾ These points of resemblance are noticed by Craig, p. XLV.

²⁾ Immediately before, v. 3087, Leir has told Cor. she shall be wretched and live in misery. Then his anger grows and v. 3091 he says 'thar fore thu scalt beon dæd ich wene'. This 'shalt be dead' is a genuine threat, equivalent to the 'shalt die' of the abridget text of Lay. Cf. in the ballad of Adam Bel etc. (Child V 133, 150) 'shall be dead' = shall die: 'He shal be dead that here cometh in', 'Ye shal be dead without mercy'. In the folk-tales it is the usual thing for the outcast princess to be condemned to death by the angry father, and to be saved by the trusty servant (Perillus-Kent). Here, however, the king's threat is an idle one.

emotion, at least, leaves nothing to be desired. Geoffrey's *rex iratus* is in Wace (v. 1793), *de maltalent devint tuz pers*, but here (v. 3069ff.), the king Leir turned as black as it were a black cloth, his skin and his hue turned, for he was exceedingly grieved; with the wrath he was stupefied, so that he fell in a swoon. Then slowly he up rose — the maiden was afraid — then it wholly brake forth — it was evil that he spake — Hearken, Cordoille, etc. (Madden's translation). I am not inclined to agree with Eidam¹⁾ that the poet was guilty of carelessness at v. 2995. The intended division in Geoffrey and Wace is very puzzling (cf. III § 5). Layamon, it seems to me, attempts a solution, and it is, again, quite in keeping with the king's impetuous character that on hearing Gornioille's flattering profession he at once concludes that this must be the one that loves him the best, and awards her the best share: 'thin is the beste deal, thu ært mi dohter deore.' In one of the folk-*tales* (Cox 214) the eldest daughter answers that she loves the king 'as much as bread'; whereupon he thinks, 'She must love me the most of all, for bread is the first necessary of our existence' (Busk, *Folk-lore of Rome*, L. 1874, p. 404). Another slight addition of Layamon's not found elsewhere than in Shakespeare is Gornioille's natural argument for a reduction of the train, to her husband (v. 3815ff): 'ourselves we have cooks to go to the kitchen, ourselves we have porters and cupbearers enow. Let some of this huge folk fare where they will.' Cf. *Gon. to Lear*, II, iv, 256: 'Why might not you, my lord, receive attendance, From those that she calls servants or from mine.'

When first told in English the story of Lear was indeed, as Furnivall says, 'well told'. It is a great pity that Layamon has always remained so little known. His version has had no influence at all on later forms of the story, and

¹⁾ Über die Sage von König Lear, Progr., Würzburg, 1880, p. 20, note 2.

it is a remarkable fact that in the mass of comment in the *New Variorum* Lear, Layamon is never once quoted.

9. **Gervase of Canterbury** (GCant) *fl.* 1188, ceased to write 1210. One of his smaller works, *Gesta Regum*, contains an abridgment of Geoffrey, with a skeleton of the Lear-story (Historical Works ed. Stubbs, Rolls Ser. II 7f.)

10. **Gervase of Tilbury** (GTilb) *fl.* 1211, included an account of his native country from Brutus to his own days, in his *Otia Imperialia*, written for the recreation of Otto IV. His brief epitome of Geoffrey on Leir, like the last-mentioned, omits Cordeilla's suicide (Gervasii Tilberiensis De imperio Romano commentatio ed. Maderus, 1673, p. 34).

11. **Gesta Regum Britanniae** (GRB). Geoffrey's *Historia* turned into about 4500 hexameters, often faulty, probably the work of a Breton, dedicated to Cadioc, bishop of Vannes (1236—1254).¹⁾ The editor's opinion of the work as a whole, that 'it is more entertaining than Wace's Brut, who . . . followed Geoffrey more closely', cannot be upheld with respect to the 419 lines (669—817) which give a terse paraphrase of the chapters on Leir. The most noteworthy addition is Goneril's address to her husband, suggested by *maritum suum affata*, to which are transferred, as in Wace, some ideas which occur later in the original (723ff):

Nimirum, miror ita te parere parenti,
Dux Maglaure, meo. Pueris eadem senibusque
Mentis inest levitas, quoniam discretio mentis
Languescit quociens vires in corpore languent.
Nonne meum decuit private vivere patrem
Confectum senio? Ducit diffusius agmen
Quam cum regnaret; nostre vix sufficit illi
Proventus terre. Contentus debuit esse
Viginti tantum sociis; reliquisque relictis
Nos satis offendet.

¹⁾ *Gesta Regum Britanniae* ed. Francisque-Michel, 1862, Cambr. Arch. Assoc.; cf. Ward, *Cat Rom.* I 274.

Leir's exclamation, *O irata fortuna!* inspires the poet to rail on Lady Fortune in good set terms, as in Wace and MB. In all three versions Fortune's wheel, a commonplace in mediaeval literature,¹⁾ is introduced. From MS. Reg, too, cf. 'I dunc mal dit dame fortune, Ki dune lat tel auenture.' Cf. K. L. IV, vi, 195, Lear the fool of fortune, and II, iv, 74, the Fool's allusion to the great wheel, explained by Hamlet II, ii, 499 ff. and III, iii, 17 ff.

12. **Le Livre des Reis de Brittanie** (LRB), an Anglo-French anonymous chronicle written c. 1283,²⁾ reviews the history of Britain from Brutus to Hengist in three pages of the Rolls edition (ed. Glover, p. 4 f.), and more than half of this small space is taken up by the story of Leir and his daughters inserted only in the Trinity Coll. MS. It is a curious version. Apparently the writer had once read the story in Wace and relates it from memory. He mentions no names but those of the two sovereigns, Leir and Cordoille, which were doubtless supplied him by the epitome he was expanding. The answers of the first two daughters are new. The first replies, 'Sire, sire, si dire le os, tant ws eim cum Deu del ciel'; the second, 'Atant cum filie puest amer pere'. The third drops into poetry, and her answer looks like an imperfect reminiscence of Wace. Ele respondi,

'Beau pere, jeo eim tei
'Come moun pere amer dei,
'E de ceo te face certain,
'Tant as, tant vaus, tant vus eim'.

Cf. Wace, 1787 ff.

'Mes pere es et jo aim tant tei
'Cume jo mun pere amer dei
'Et pur tei faire plus certain
'Tant as, tant vals et jo tant t'ain'.

¹⁾ Cf. Münchner Brut, p. VIII.

²⁾ Cf. P. Meyer, Bulletin de la soc. des anc. textes fr. 1878, p. 111.

After the marriage of the daughters, the story runs for a time in a fresh channel. In place of the deposition, maintenance with train, etc., incidents are introduced from an analogous tale of the simpler type in Gottschalcus (cf. p. 23). 'A pres ceo li rois Leir ne peust pas sustenir la curt ki il tint devant, e devint tu povere, si ke il vint a sa primere filie si cum en pleniant; e ele lui escudit (Glover, influenced perhaps by K. L. II, iv, 89 ff., translates, 'but she hid herself from him' in place of 'she denied him', 'made excuses'; from **excondicere*, eine Ausrêde machen, Körtling) e se escusa par sun seignur ke ele ne lui osa ne ne peust ren fere (cf. Gottsch.: dixit ei quod propter mariti improbitatem non esset ausa ei ulterius aliquid ministrare). Puis vint a lautre en meime la manere, e ele dist, "Ren ne deit em fere a celui ki ren ne vout retenir a soun ofs". 'The remainder, except that Leir 'maunda sun estat par lettre a sa filie ki fu reine de Fraunce' is the story proper, scantily recollected from Wace.

13. **Walter of Coventry** (WCov.) *fl.* 1293, was the author of a Latin volume of historical collections to 1293, beginning with an abstract of the British history, taken not directly from Geoffrey but from an unknown intermediate abridgment. The few lines which concern us might as well have come direct from Geoffrey. Nothing new is added. The suicide is again omitted. — I have not seen the 14th cent. MS. Bodl. 355, containing a much fuller abstract of Geoffrey, also ascribed to this writer (*Memoriale Fratris Waltheri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Ser., I Introd. and p. 5).

14. **Robert of Gloucester** (RG). A century after Layamon appeared the second English version, in the chronicle composed at the abbey of Gloucester about 1300, and assigned to Robert of Gloucester by John Stow in 1580, although Robert was perhaps only the name of the monk who wrote the continuation from 1154 to 1270.¹⁾ In 196 'Middle

¹⁾ The Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, ed. W. A. Wright, Rolls Ser., I 50 ff., v. 680—875; Brandl, Paul's Grundr. II, 1, 632; DNB.

English alexandrines,' in couplets, the story from Leir's accession to Cordeilla's imprisonment is carefully repeated after Geoffrey. No other source was drawn upon. RG is said to have used Lay here and there, but Craig's statement that he tells the Leir story, 'greatly abbreviated, from Layamon's account' (p. XLVI), is an error. There is no trace of Layamon in these 196 lines, the more's the pity. — While Lay sometimes recalls Shakespeare, RG reminds us of the Old Play, by transferring events from pagan to Christian times¹) — so the good Cordeile, he writes, v. 736ff., was unmarried, but God thought yet on her, for her trueness (cf. HH, sup. § 1), for the king of France heard tell of her goodness (not beauty as in Geoffrey) — and by his picture of the sorrowful 'oldeman' bearing his crosses in pious resignation, intent (v. 798) 'to do his beste in miseise, ware so god him sende.' RG and the anonymous dramatist both overdo the pathos, making the king a tearful old *bourgeois*, who excites much pity not wholly unalloyed with contempt; and they have the same didactic tendency in common, indulging readily in moral reflexions. We are prepared to find that RG omits Cordeilla's suicide, and Leir's desire for vengeance. As in HH all the blame is fixed on the two women, who enticed their lords to depose the king (v. 752); and the trouble with the knights in both households is not recorded, so that there is nothing to palliate the daughters' bad conduct. The bad become worse, and the good better. Cordeile's fault is simply that she would not flatter (v. 737), while in accordance with the milder nature of RG's Leir, his sentence on her is much less severe (v. 727 ff. Wright's text would be improved at v. 729 by reading the past participle *iloued*, cf. v. 715, for *I loued*). The effect of Goneril's scornful address on Leir's return to her (*increpat*

¹) Not consistently. The wicked daughters, at least, are pagans. Each swears 'bi the heie godes, louerdess of alle thinge' (v. 703, cf. v. 694, 776; Geoffrey: *per numina coeli*).

eum senem, etc.) is touchingly depicted in some lines which form RG's most notable expansion (v. 779 ff.):

[Heo]esste gwat sorwe him were . wanne he nadde him sult no god.
 To wilni so gret coust . & be of so gret mod.
 This word dude mucche wo . to this seli olde king.
 That heo atweste him is stat . that he nadde no thing.
 That word brac nei is herte . mucche he it onderstod.
 That is child atweste is pouerte . that adde al is god.
 Nere neuere king ne quene . glad wanne hii him seie.
 Ac to the Ioiuol daye hopede . wanne he ssolde deie.¹⁾

This second English version is a very tame performance in comparison with the first, but it found a warm admirer in Von Friesen (Sh.-Jahrb. XII), who thought it more dramatic than any other account. The value of his opinion, however is much discounted by the fact that he had not seen any of the earlier ones, and assumed, p. 181, that Layamon must agree with RG. Von Friesen would have been glad to consider this a source of Shakespeare's knowledge of the story if there were any possibility of his having heard of it (p. 180). It is perhaps as well that Von Friesen was not aware that RG was known to a number of Elizabethans. Wright's text A. (MS. Cott. Calig. A XI.) once belonged to John Stow. Camden quoted from it in his *Remaines* (1629 ed., p. 7, 92). It was no doubt the same MS. from which Selden drew many of his illustrations to Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1612), and William Browne the pastoralist his knowledge of RG. (Cf. Moorman, *Quellen und Forschungen* 81, p. 43). If Von Friesen had gone back a step,

15. *Piers of Langtoft* (PL).

Than com out of Brydlington
 Pers of Langtoft, a chanon.
 Als mayster Wace the same he says,
 Bot he rymed it other ways.

(Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*, v. 187—190).

¹⁾ Cf. the Old Play, Sc. 10:

Corn. Comfort your selfe, father, here comes your daughter

[*Enter Gonorill*]

The Yorkshire canon wrote an Anglo-French metrical history of England to 1307, the early part taken, according to his editor (T. Wright, *Rolls Ser.*, I, p. XV), from Geoffrey. With this the DNB agrees, but Ten Brink (*Engl. Lit.*² I 350) calls the work an 'Auszug aus Wace.' The few lines here considered might generally be an abridgment from either, but one or two points speak for Geoffrey. Wace advances the 'dux Albaniae' into a 'rei d'Escoce' but in PL the duke keeps his title. In Wace Leir only promises the two couples his land at his death; here as in Geoffrey he gives them half: 'Leyr de son regne lour dona la mayté' (I 36, l. 3). And there are no such traces of Wace's diction as are patent in the other French version from Wace (cf. § 20), and observable in Lay, RM, and Wavrin (cf. §§ 19, 32). PL's language and his notions of French prosody bewray the Englishman. He counts accents, not syllables. He disposes of the two reigns in 58 alexandrines, in three leashes, rhyming on -age, -ay, -é. The exigencies of rhyme lead him to state, against evidence, that Leyr 'prudhome fu e sages', and to describe 'Ragau' as 'aceymé de corsage.' He gives the questions and answers in 17 lines of attractive dialogue, which caused Robert Mannyng to desert Wace for a moment (cf. § 19). The rest is effectively curtailed.

16. **Raüf de Bohun's Petit Bruit.** MS. Harl. 902, Brit. Mus., badly written at the beginning of the 17th century, on paper, contains on fol. 1—11 a short chronicle in French from Brutus to the death of Edward I, compiled in 1310, 'novelement abrege hors du grand Bruit' by 'meistre Rauf de Boun' for Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln. *Expl.* Cy finist le Petit Bruit. Cf. Skeat, *Havelok*, EETS, p. VI; P. Meyer, *Bulletin de la soc. des anc. textes*, 1878, p. 111 f. De la Rue, *Essais Historiques*, II 165, took the *grand Bruit*

Who much will grieve, I know, to see you sad.

Leir. But more doth grieve, I feare, to see me live.

to mean Wace; P. Meyer says it means Geoffrey.¹⁾ The endings of 'Leirius', 'Baconus' point indeed to a Latin source, but in the portion I have transcribed there is little of the letter of Geoffrey, though his spirit is admirably caught in an astounding rigmarole related with specious historic circumstance. Leir's daughters have vanished and left not a rack behind, except perhaps that this Leirius in also the victim of filial impiety. Leir's father, Bladud, who built Bath and the hot baths therein by magic art, is turned into Baconus!²⁾ Possibly his unfortunate imitation of Daedalus — Bladud lost his life by falling on his temple of Apollo when attempting to fly — brought about confusion with the philosopher who contemplated the feasibility of a flying machine. Besides Leicester, Leirius built 'wyrcestre' and other towns not easily decipherable. He was wise and virtuous but 'trop koward de cors' (apparent confusion with our hero's grandfather Leir or Leil, cf. Geoffrey II, ix), and therefore

¹⁾ ib. p. 111. The relationship between the LRB (§ 12) and this Petit Bruit is not clear. The two works, P. Meyer writes, p. 108, 'ont certainement une origine commune, mais ne peuvent être considérés comme des copies, même très libres, d'une même composition . . . le second paraît être un développement du premier.' Cf. Gröber, Grundr. II, 1, 1013: 'Das zweite Brutbuch geht in ältester Fassung bis 1283 und wird in einer anderen mit dem Namen eines Rauf de Bohon . . . versehen.' If this is so, how could the Petit Bruit claim to be newly abridged from the Grand Bruit, Geoffrey? Judging from what he tells us about Leirius, R. de B. seems entitled to credit for some originality.

²⁾ This little work would seem to deserve printing if only for its allusions to English legend. But Baconus is probably a late corruption. The first History of English Literature, by Bishop Bale, 1548, tells us that *Bladudus magus* wrote *De magia mathematica li. Pl.* and adds *Edidisse perhibetur rex iste*. Leir was no author. — A master in the art of sinking (cf. § 48) makes Cordila relate the misadventure of her 'grandsire *Bladud*',

A feathered King that practis'd high to soare
Whereby hee felt the fall, God wot against his will,
And neuer went, road, raygned, nor spake, nor flew nor more.

much troubled by those of Ireland, who warred upon him all his life, till Belin his son (in Geoffrey a whole waggon-load of kings come between Leir and Belinus, III, i—x) utterly defeated them. King Leyrius, the chronicler continues, with Rabelaisian accuracy, only reigned fifty years and six, for in the fifty-seventh year he was poisoned at Winchester by Belin, who coveted his land and was persuaded by ‘vn fol clerc nigremaunciey’ (a kind of ‘dreamer Merlin’) that there would be no peace while his father reigned. He lies at Winchester, at the very spot where now stands the House of the Holy Cross, founded by King Athelstan the Last for the soul of Sir Guy of Warwick (in Geoffrey, VIII, xiv, xvi, Aurelius, brother to Uther Pendragon, is poisoned and buried at Winchester). And this is the first interment, whether pagan or Christian, of which ‘li bruit’ makes mention.

By comparison with this extravaganza the metrical chronicle to 1312 printed by Ritson (*Anc. Engl. Metr. Romances*, 1802, II 270 ff.) is seen to handle the genealogy of the British kings tenderly. It mentions Leir’s building Leicester, and then passes on (v. 217):

After him regnede his sone bold,
That was icleped Denewold.

i. e. Dunvallo Molmutius, who (Geoffrey II, xvii) succeeds the sons of Gorboduc and is separated from Leir by some seven or eight generations.

17. The **Livro do Conde Pedro**. A short prose version, dating c. 1325, from a Portuguese nobiliary, is printed in *Englische Studien* 29, 1901, p. 208 f. The accompanying statements of its lady contributor are hard to follow. The *Livro do Conde Pedro*, we read, p. 211, “hängt offenbar mit dem Münchner Brut zusammen, von dem es in der Darstellung der L.-sage nur in einem wesentlichen Punkte abweicht: Cordelia tötet sich nicht selbst, sondern wird von den Neffen umgebracht.” Connection with MB is undeniable in the sense that would apply as well to any other version, but if there is any reason for supposing another link than

common ultimate origin in Geoffrey between Count Pedro's abstract from the British (why 'bretonisch', p. 208?) history and the unique MS. in Munich, it certainly is not evident. For the question of dependence, the divergence over Cordelia's death is not an essential point. The tendency to sympathise with the heroine leads to various modifications of her tragic fate (cf. III § 25): the nephews are charged with her death, as here, in some MSS. of Higden's *Polychronicon* and of the French prose *Brut* (cf. §§ 20, 28). Much more important for Pedro's authority is his interchange of the elder daughters' husbands: he marries the first 'com o duque de Cornoalha', the second 'com rrey de Tostia' (i. e. Scotland). The same confusion has already been referred to in §§ 1 and 7. It points to Geoffrey. In MB there is no such interchange, real or apparent. Pedro has nothing in common with MB alone. There are some slight variations peculiar to this account, as that Leir is not restored but dies in France, and the explicit statement that Cordelia's husband died without leaving an heir. I see no need to infer an intermediate abridgment. Pedro compiled his book from many works, including the *Brut* (cf. Gröber's Grundr. II, 2, 210), by which he probably meant the work which Castelford, the next chronicler to be mentioned, calls the 'Boke of Brut', namely, Geoffrey.

18. **Thomas Castelford (TC).** The fourth Middle English chronicle is a work of 39,764 lines of four accents, in couplets, a history of England to 1327, ascribed to Thomas Castelford, a Benedictine monk of Pontefract. It begins with the coming of Albion and her sisters to Britain, and then from v. 227 to v. 27,464 is mainly a translation of Geoffrey, the 'Boke of Brut.' The chronicle is preserved in a single, late 14th or early 15th century MS. at Göttingen. Its publication by the EETS was long since announced,¹⁾

¹⁾ Cf. M. L. Perrin, *Über Thomas Castelford's Chronik*, Göttinger Diss., Boston 1890.

and to judge from the treatment of the Lear-story will bring more grist to the philological mill — for one thing, many loan-words make their first appearance — than increase of fame to M. E. poetry. Through the liberality of the authorities of the University Library at Göttingen I was able to consult this unique MS. at Jena. Fol. 19, col. 1, l. 37 begins Bk. I, Ch. xxx with the heading,

Here leir examynyd his dougters thre
Qwyk lofed hym best fayn wit wald he.

Cap. xi—xiv of Geoffrey, lib. II, are redivided into seven chapters of more equal length: Bk. I, xxx—xxxvi. With Geoff., cap. xv begins Bk. II. Each chapter is headed with a rubric couplet indicating its contents. The history from Leir's accession to Cordoil's death takes up 730 lines of text (v. 3285—4030 in Perrin's numbering. Subtract 16 lines, chapter-headings). TC thus wins the distinction of using more words over the business than any chronicler, except MB and perhaps Layamon with his 876 short lines. He may be dismissed in very few. Literally every word of the Latin is accounted for, and addition is shunned as carefully as omission. The best that can be said to his praise is that he took great pains to give a plain rendering of the Latin, which at times is none too clear, though his success may often be questioned. The rendering of 'in honorem bifrontis Jani', for instance, by 'Of goddys worschype of byfornt iane' can hardly be called lucid, even when another line is added to explain matters (v. 3967): 'Als for yar god iane doublefront.' Geoffrey's dark allusion to princes in the ship that bore Leir to France¹⁾ makes the reader wonder *que diable* they were doing in that galley. TC con-

¹⁾ . . . in Galliam transfretavit. Sed cum se vidisset tertium inter principes, qui simul transfretabant, in haec verba cum fletu et singultu prorupit . . . Cf. III § 15.

trives finally to be more mysterious than the original (v. 3695 ff.):

On ce in schype *yar* sat two princes,
Yat lordys wer of largh *provinces*.
Leyr beheld if chance ne tyd
Wyth yose he suld haue ben ye therd.
These *princes* hym honowrd in ye bate,
For he somqwyll had boryn gret state,
& to *yar* honour he toke kepe,
Full sor he syghed & sone he wepe,
That all myght here about hym ware.
He sayd yese wordys wepand full sare.
Alas, alas, he cried . . .

Leir bewails his lot through close on 100 lines, but though the two princes might hear him, they betoken no sympathy. It is idle to suggest that they go to sleep, for TC does not appease our curiosity. As for Leir, 'nowther he on ce ett ne dranke', and when the ship 'applied vnto ye banke' (ut tandem...applicuit), he 'toke the stret vnto parice, A noble cite and of gret *price*' (venit Karitiam), accompanied only by a single swain, 'Simple wyth o man he & he'.

The following extract will serve to show how three words of English could be made do the work of one of Latin (v. 3457 ff.):¹⁾

Aftyр all his grettest he sent
Wyth out tarying to hald parlement,
And thorowe hygh mennys assent *yat* tyd
Hys two doghters sone he mareid.
He marid gonoryll rychly,
To marglaune duke of albany,

¹⁾ Nec mora: consilio procerum regni dedit praedictas puellas duas duobus ducibus, Cornubiae videlicet et Albaniae cum medietate tantum insulae: dum ipse viveret. Post obitum autem ejus totam monarchiam Britanniae eisdem concessit habendam. — It is to TC's credit that he avoids the trap into which so many of his colleagues fall.

And regan thorowe gret mennys consale,
 To hennius ye duc of cornvail,
 Wyth the half of all ye hyle,
 Eqwylse he leffyd durand ye qwyle.
 Qwen he war ded after hys last day,
 Haillye ye hyle haue yt suld yai,
 Duc marglaune & duc hennius,
 That weddyt had hys doghters yus,
 All bryttaine monarchye,
 Yai suld it weld and hafe halye,
 Even diuisyd yame two be twen,
 Athyr of his doghters for to qweme.

19. **Robert Mannyng, of Brunne (RM).** Shortly after the completion of TC's chronicle, the fourth English version of the Lear-story was made. In 1338, 35 years after writing his *Handlyng Synne*, Robert Mannyng, a native of Bourn in Lincolnshire, who in 1288 had entered the house of the Gilbertine canons at Sempringham, and was now an old man of 74, finished his 'Story of England' from Brutus to Edward I., written not for the learned, but for laymen to know, of their kings 'which were fools and which were wise' (ed. Furnivall, Rolls Ser., I Introd.). The abridgment of Geoffrey by PL, whose chronicle he chiefly follows for the latter part, seemed to him too brief for the British period, where he prefers to follow mainly Wace, 'For mayster Wace the Latyn alle rymes, That Pers overhippes¹⁾ many tymes' (v. 63 f.). He makes 298 lines²⁾ suffice to cover the ground of the 412 of Wace, or the 730 of TC in the same metre.

¹⁾ This expressive word is to be found in the 1587—8 Quartos of 'The Misfortunes of Arthur', Act III, Chor., l. 43: 'Prowde *Fortune* ouerhippes the saffest Roades' (= Seneca's 'Transit tutos fortuna sinus'). The old emendation to 'overslips' and Grumbine's to 'ouershippes' are quite uncalled for; and the same must be said of 'groomes' for 'roomes' in II, ii, 28: 'Imperiall power abhorres to be restrainde. As much doe meaner roomes to be compeld.' Cf. room, 9, in Cent. Dic., = office, post, position (The Misfortunes of Arthur, ed. Grumbine, Berlin 1900: Literarhistor. Forschungen, XIV).

²⁾ ed. Zetsche, Anglia IX 104 ff., v. 2276—2573.

Zetsche's investigation of RM's sources for the early part¹⁾ is not satisfactory. He is prepared to believe, on very poor evidence, that besides Wace RM used MB and Lay, but omits to consider the much less remote possibility of his having PL at hand. Yet a comparison of the following extracts will show us RM turning from Wace to a brighter piece of dialogue in PL, transferring it not too carefully, and then returning to Wace. RM, v. 2316 ff.

Scheo [Gordylle] wyste how that hure systres seyde,
Of a gyle hit was a breyde²⁾
'Doughter, how mykel lovest thou me?'
'Fader', scheo sayde, 'y schal sey the:
'Als my fader y have the loved,
'And evermore schal to be proved'
'Ne lovest thou me namore, mi dere?'
'Yys, fader, thou lyst and here:
'Ryght als thou has, so artow worthy,
'So mykel love to the owe y'.
That word tok he yvel til herte,
He understod hit al overthwerte.

With v. 2318—2325 cf. PL, p. 34, l. 15, 17—20:³⁾

1) Über den ersten Teil der Bearbeitung des 'roman de Brut' des Wace durch Robert Mannyng, Leipziger Diss. 1887; p. 10 ff.

2) Zetsche (Diss., p. 62) misunderstands this line, taking it for the equivalent of Wace, v. 1765—8, and Geoffrey's *tentare illum cupiens*, and echoes San-Marte's grotesque administration of poetic justice: dadurch verfällt Cordelia der den Übermut rächenden Nemesis (cf. sup. p. 25). The two lines 2316—7 of RM correspond to Wace 1761—4: — Cordeille out bien escuté, et bien out en sun cuer noté, cument ses dous sorurs parloënt, cument lur pere losengoënt.

3) And the corresponding lines of Wace (1769 ff.):

Quant Leir a raisun la mist
cume les altres, el li dist
qui a nule fille qui die
a sun pere par presumtie
qu'ele l'aint plus que ele deit
'ne sai que plus grant amurs seit
'que entre enfant et entre pere
'et entre enfant et entre mere;

(plus the next four lines quoted above, § 12).

‘Cordeyle,’ fist Leyr, ‘respoundre ws orray
’

Ele respoundi, cum je ws counteray.

‘Cum mon pere ws eyme e amé touz jours ay.’

‘E nent plus?’ dit Leyr. ‘Si face; ore entend toy;

‘Taunt as, taunt vaus, taunt amour te day’.

V. 2326 may be either PL, l. 21 or Wace, v. 1792—3, but with v. 2327 RM has returned safely to Wace, v. 1794: la parole prist en travers.

The few lines marked in Furnivall’s edition as not due to Wace include some additional commonplaces on the fickleness of Dame Fortune (v. 2463, 2478—9); a reflexion on the ingratitude of children (2421—5); a warning from Leyr (2454 f.): ‘Ensample of me men may take, And warnyng of sibbe for my sake’; and one or two other trifles, not worth quoting except where the king determines at length to go to Gordylle, to prove (2505) ‘Hire kyndenesse and hure curtesy’ (2496 ff):

‘Natheles hure wol y seke,

‘Y fond hure evere god and meke¹)

‘Wysdam sche has me ytaught,

‘Wysdam schal make hure with me saught.’

Like Lay and RG, RM has a preference for direct speech rather than indirect, but he shows little individuality or independence. He writes more liquid verses than TC, who, however, translated from the Latin. His version of Wace does not deserve to be compared with that of Layamon.²⁾

20. The French prose **Brut** (FPB). It is more than time now to speak of the Anglo-French prose chronicle which as the basis of “Caxton’s” Chronicle links Wace with some of the Elizabethan versions and ultimately with

¹) This line perhaps recalls K. L. V, iii, 272 f.

²) That Craig should doubt RM’s having used Wace (p. XLVII) is as unintelligible as his deriving RG from Lay. All the ‘circumstances leading to the questioning’ in RM are in Wace, though the converse does not hold, since RM abridges Wace.

Shakespeare. The numerous extant MSS. show it to have been a very popular book. Madden concluded it to have been composed a few years before RM, as most MSS. end at the year 1331 or 1332 (cf. Skeat, *Havelok*, p. XIII); but P. Meyer refers to a Paris MS., not known to Madden, which appears complete at 1272, and he assigns its composition to that date (*Bulletin*, 1878, p. 115). A classification of the MSS. was attempted by W. Hardy (*Waurin*, *Rolls Ser.*, I p. XLII ff.), and P. Meyer further prepares the way for a future editor. In its earliest form, he shows, the chronicle ends at the year 1272 (1st redaction, 1st state); the second redaction, with *Prophecies of Merlin* at the end of the reigns of Henry III and his successors, reaches in its first state to 1307, while the second state of each redaction records events to 1333.

The British Museum MS. Cott. Dom. A X, representing the first redaction, 2nd state, and MS. Cott. Cleop. D III (2nd red., 2nd state), present an identical version of the *Lear-story*. Orthographical differences are of course constant, but the only material divergence is in the relation of Cordelia's end. In the former she dies in prison, in the latter the nephews put her to death (cf. § 17). The sources of this *Brut* have not been determined. Madden (*N & Q*, 2nd Ser., vol. I, p. 1) thought it chiefly founded on Geoffrey; P. Meyer (p. 114) supposes it to be a compilation from Latin sources. I can only speak of the part I have transcribed, but for the *Lear-story* I can affirm with certainty that its one and only source is Wace. His account is considerably abridged, but the most noteworthy addition is that the two dukes were slain in the battle, a fate which overtakes them in many independent versions (cf. § 57, note). Ample evidence of its close dependence on Wace is contained in Ch. III, see particularly §§ 11, 13, 18. But here may be noticed a few of the many instances in which Wace's wording is retained in the prose paraphrase, while Geoffrey offers no near equivalent.

Wace.

v. 1795, ce quida qu'el l'escarnisist
 1961, 'las mei' dist il 'trop ai vesqu'
 1997, 'bien me dist Cordeille veir'
 2003, 'or me sunt mes filles faillies'
 2034, 'et bien se face apareillier
 'paistre, vestir, laver, baignier'

MS. Cott. Dom. A X.

quidoit quele li charnisoit
 allas fet il trop ay vesqui
 Bien moi dist Cordeille ma fille voir
 mes deux fillez me sount faillez
 se face bien apparailier. vestir. pestir.
 lauir & baigner.

21. The English prose **Brute** (EPB). The second redaction, second state, of FPB was translated into English, and proved a most acceptable work. So many copies of it were made in the 14th and 15th centuries that nearly every English library of importance possesses one or more. As far back as 1856 Madden recommended that the work should be printed, but like its French original, it still awaits an editor. When first made, the translation ended with the French, at Halidon Hill, 1333. It was subsequently continued to 1377 and further. Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, II 423, ascribed its authorship to 'John Douglas, Munke of Glastonburye Abbaye', on the insufficient evidence of a 16th century note in MS. Harl. 4690, and many authorities follow him in crediting Douglas of Glastonbury with the work (e. g. Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.* I 90; Grässe, II, 2, 2, p. 106; Lappenberg, *Gesch. Englands*, I, p. LXIX; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Early Printed Books*, on Caxton's *Chronicle*, 1480; Brandl, *Paul's Grundr.* II, i, 695). Madden advanced the claims of John Maundevile, rector of Burgham Thorpe, who, he shows, made MS. Harl. 2279 in 1435 (N & Q 1856, 2nd Ser., vol. I p. 1 ff.; cf. Skeat, *Havelok*, p. XIII).¹⁾ But compared with FPB and MS. Harl. 24 of EPB, MS. Harl. 2279 shows some lacunae (e. g. whan Agampe this answer, cf. Harl. 24: whenne Agampe herde this answere, and Cott. Cleop. D III: Quant Agampe out oie cest responce; a line or more dropped between bottom of fol. 11 b and top of fol. 12 a) which indicate that here at least John Maundevile's part in the work was only that of a scribe. There exist a

¹⁾ Stow, *Annals*, 1592, p. 11, regards J. Mandevil as the translator.

great number of MSS. which have not been sufficiently examined for the question of authorship to be decided (cf. P. Meyer, l. c., p. 130).

It has been stated (Lappenberg, I p. LXX; Fabyan ed. Ellis, p. XIV) that the early part of this chronicle follows Geoffrey ('a mere transcript', Ellis), but that part of it here dealt with is nothing but a close translation of the French version, which, as I have said, is derived entirely from Wace. Compared with the French MS. Cott. Cleop. D III the English MS. Harl. 2279 shows no variations on the theme of Lear worth mentioning, beyond a slight modification of Cordelia's answer in accordance with a general tendency (cf. Ch. III § 24) and a slight change due perhaps to a misunderstanding of the French through the omission of a word in the 2nd redaction of EPB, at the beginning of Ch. XIII. Cf. MS. Cott. Cleop. DIII: 'Les autres que auoient ses soers [espusez, Cott. Dom. A X] ne voilent attendre taunt que apres la mort Leir' with MS. Harl. 2279: 'Thus hit fille afterward that tho ij eldest doughterne wolde nought abide til that leyr hire fader was dede.' Thus in EPB (Caxton agrees) as in HH and RG the entire blame of Leir's deposition falls on the daughters. — Haslewood (*Mirror for Magistrates*, I 140) printed the EPB version of the story from a certain 'MS. Brute'.

22. "**Caxton's**" **Chronicle** (Cxt). The EPB with a continuation to 1416 was printed by Caxton in 1480. Hence the work is often called Caxton's Chronicle, though his share in the authorship extended at most to the last few chapters. There was a second edition in 1482, followed by ten others down to 1528 (cf. DNB on Caxton). The great popularity of the book is further attested by its present rarity. The printer 'modernised' the language of the chronicle. A critical edition of the EPB would mean heavy labour, but would help to estimate Caxton's share in the establishment of Standard English, in which his much read chronicle must have been an important factor. There are a number of

dialectal changes in Ch. XIII and XIV, as 'higt' to 'was called', 'axen', 'solacen' to 'axe', 'solace'; 'scorned with' to 'scorned', 'nome' to 'toke', the first-mentioned words coming from MS. Harl. 2279,¹⁾ the others from Cxt 1482, but in the sense nothing more radical than 'him arayen. batheñ and wasshen' to 'him arayen laten & wasshen'. A slight correction to the sense in the 1502 and later editions is noticed in Ch. III § 13. On the other hand, where in the heading to Ch. XIV the 1482 ed., in agreement with FPB and EPB has 'How kynge leyr was dryuen out of his lande thurgh his folye', the 1483 and subsequent edd. corrupt 'folye' to 'folke'.

A short extract, chosen at random, will illustrate the relationship between FPB, EPB, and Cxt.

Ms. Cott. Dom. A X: & lesquier counta la roigne de chief en altre coment ses deux filles li ount lesse. Cordeille la roigne prist or & argent a *grant* plente & bailla al esquier & li dist en conseil qil le portast a son pere. & qil alast a alcun bone cite & se face bien aparailer. vestir. pestir. lauir & baigner & qil la turne richement de reale vesture. & retiegne odue li .XL. chiualers & lor esquiers. & puis face assauoir au roi qil vint oue li parler & veer sa fille.

Ms. Harl. 2279: And when the squyer come to the quene he tolde here euere dele of here sustres from ye begynnyng to the ende. Cordeil ye quene anone nome golde and siluere grete plente and toke hit to ye squyer in counsel that he shulde gone and bere hit to here fadere and that he shulde gone into a certeyn citee & him arayen . bathen and wasshen and than come ayen to here & bring with him an honest company of knyghtes fourti atte ye lest with here mayne . and yan he shulde sende to here lorde

¹⁾ This MS. 'agrees with the exception of some words with Caxton's edition' (cf. Skeat, *Havelok*, p. XIII), but its lacunae show that Cxt used a more carefully written MS.

ye kyng & seyn that he were comen for to speke wiy his dougter and him to seen.

Cxt 1482: & whan the squyer was comen to the quene / he tolde hir euery dele of hir sustres from the begynnyng vnto thende / Cordeyl the quene anon toke gold and syluer plente . & toke it to the squyer in counceill that he shold gone & bere it vnto hir fadre & that he shold go in to a certayne Cyte / & him arayen laten & wasshen . & than come ageyne to hyr / and bringe with him an honest company of knyghtes xl atte lest with her meyne / & than he sholde sende to hir lord the kyng / & sayn that he were come for to speke with his doughter and hym for to seen /

23—25. The **Gesta Romanorum** (GR). Under this title we have three versions of the story:

English, of 'Leyre, some tyme kyng of bretayne the more', in Ms. Addit. 9066 (c. 1440), printed by Madden, *The O. E. versions of the GR*, 1838, p. 450ff.; Herrtage, *EETS XXXIII*, p. 48 ff. (Here denoted by GR I).

Latin, of Theodosius, printed by Oesterley, *GR*, Berlin 1892, App. 77 (GR II).

English, of Theodosius, in MS. Harl. 7333 (c. 1440) printed by Douce, *Illustrations of Sh.*, 1807, II 172; Madden, p. 44ff.; Collier, *Shakespeare's Library*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 2, 318ff.; Herrtage, p. 48ff. (GR III).

23. **GR I** is a translation, independent of EPB, from FPB, but whether from the 1st or 2nd redaction it is impossible to say, for as the story was to be provided with a moral, it of course stops at the Happy Ending. Here and there are slight additions in keeping with its edifying purpose, as 'the squyere commaundid the quene to god'; 'And leyre, here fader, made her wele to be arayed, and Clenly', Cleanliness being next to Godliness. Leyre's reception in France is somewhat expanded; a change in the reductions of the train is referred to in Ch. III § 13.

24. **GR II**. Of this Latin story of Theodosius, Simrock wrote that it was 'vermutlich die Quelle Monmouth's .

Zwar sind die GR später gesammelt als Monmouth schrieb . . . aber das Märchen ist offenbar älter als die Sammlung', a curious theory coming as it does on top of the statement that Geoffrey took the story from the 'Königschronik Tysilios', and after the criticism of Cordeilla's answer in Geoffrey as 'seltsam und auf ungenauem Auszug der Königschronik beruhend.' But Simrock is often followed, e. g. by Von Friesen, Sh.-Studien, III 80; A. W. Ward, Hist. Engl. Dram. Lit. 1875, I 417, 1899, I 176; Karl Luick, Forschungen zur neueren Litteraturgeschichte, Weimar 1898, p. 138: — 'Die Lear-Fabel ist höchst wahrscheinlich nichts anderes als ein in die brittische Urgeschichte versetzter Novellenstoff, der in einer Erzählung der GR (von den Töchtern des Kaiser Theodosius) noch in seiner ursprünglichen Form vorliegt'.

Now the authority on the GR is Oesterley. He shows us (p. 257—266) that the collection of moralised parables, fables etc., called the GR, was made about the end of the 13th century, probably in England, possibly in Germany. Originally the stories were taken from Roman writers, but to them were added first parables easily susceptible of a spiritual exposition; then according to inclination or opportunity pieces which underwent alteration to adapt them to moralisations, since down to a very late period the moralisations, not the stories, were considered the more important part of the work; and finally stories were invented, often clumsily enough, merely to point a moral. The original collection, then, was much enlarged, especially on the Continent, where c. 1472 the first printed edition appeared, at Utrecht, containing 150 chapters. Two other editions followed between 1472—1475 at Cologne, with 152 and 181 chapters respectively. These editions together with the Continental MSS. having a parallel development, Oesterley calls the 'Vulgärtext.' The story of Theodosius is not found in either of these or the subsequent Latin, German, French and Dutch printed editions, which depend entirely upon the *Vulgärtext*. Oesterley further shows what stories are found in 105 of the known

MSS., and that the story of Theodosius occurs in only three of them: in two of the Anglo-Latin group, MSS. Harl. 206 and 2270, both of the 15th century, and once in English (GR III). It may be contained in others of the 25 Anglo-Latin MSS., not analysed by Oesterley, but what is instructive is that it is not found in any of the Continental MSS. or printed editions. Oesterley himself (p. 266) writes of it as one of the stories peculiar to the English, i. e. Anglo-Latin, recension. (Yet Eidam writes, p. 3, 'Im lateinischen *Vulgärtext* der GR . . . wird Ähnliches von . . . Theodosius berichtet', and Herrtage, p. XVIII, 'Those stories which are printed by Herr Oesterley in his Appendix' — GR II is No. 77 of these — 'are to be found . . . only in certain Continental MSS.'). Madden (p. XI) assigns the compilation of the Anglo-Latin GR to the reign of Richard II. Geoffrey's story had therefore been in circulation not merely a century, as Hartland says (*Folk-Lore Journal*, IV 310), but about 250 years, before the story of Theodosius was written down.

It happens with surprising frequency that a critic's obvious reasons, if not stated, tend to become absolutely undiscoverable. We are in that predicament with respect to Simrock's opinion on GR II. What was it in the story of Theodosius that led him to pronounce it 'evidently older' than the collection? The mere fact that it is told of a Roman emperor goes for nothing. Several other stories are fastened on this name. Cap. 77 of the *Vulgärtext*, beginning 'Erat quidam rex qui duas filias habebat' is told of Theodosius in a Ratisbon MS. (Oesterley, p. 62); in cap. 105 of the *Vulgärtext* poor Theodosius is blind and has no family; while in MS. Harl. 2270, which contains GR II, another story is related of Theodosius of which in the *Vulgärtext* Tiberius is the hero. Thus there is good ground for the suspicion that the Leir-story was transferred from the fictitious British to the fictitious Roman history, just as No. 69, 'Narratur in historiis regis Arthuri', in the earliest known

MS., written c. 1326 (Oesterley, p. 257), is transferred in the *Vulgärtext* No. 113, to Adonias.

Internal evidence shows this to have been the case, and shows that the version from which it was transferred was either FPB or EPB. The original story is too complicated to admit of an effective moralisation. It needs first to be simplified and drawn into parable form. One step in this direction is taken by Herolt (c. 1470, cf. § 34) who also adds a moralisation, with the story from Geoffrey: the deposition is effected not by those to whom the king had promised his land, but by an external foe (*Cum autem hostes in dictum keyr irruerunt*), just as in GR II the king of Egypt is introduced to depose Theodosius. But the author of GR II went further. In the paraphrase of Wace he read of Leir's daughters that 'she that loued him best shulde best ben married' (cf. FPB: *cele qi plus li ameroit serroit mieulz marrie*; Wace: *le mius del suen duner volreit a cele qui plus l'amereit*); and also that he married the first daughter to the king of Scotland (*dux Albaniae* in Geoff.), while the second's husband was of less high rank (*Erle of Cornewayle, counte de Cornewaille*). These two points suggested the course of his parabola. Re-writing the story he made Theodosius marry the first daughter to a king (*uni regi opulento et potenti*), the second to a duke (*cuidam duci*), and the third to an earl (*cuidam comiti*). This gradation makes the sequel absurd, it is true, but the moralisation's the thing, not the story. It is possible to imagine a king of France reinstating a deposed king of Britain, but it was clearly beyond the power of 'quidam comes' immediately to raise a large army, defeat the king of Egypt and restore the Roman emperor (*statim collegit magnum exercitum, . . . victoriam obtinuit et imperatorem in imperio suo posuit*). The answers are similarly graduated to match the husbands. The first and third say much the same as in the original: 'plus quam me ipsam', 'tantum sicut vales', cf. EPB: 'better than hire owyn life', 'as moche as

ye be worthy', but the second wins her duke with something between these two: 'tantum sicut me ipsam.' But the best folk-tales and versions of the Leir-story show us that the second should try to outdo the first in her profession of love. Here the anticlimax of the third answer is altogether lost, and the regular progressions make GR II as a story uncommonly flat.

On such points as the retention of part of the train in the five knights offered to the deposed emperor (*quinque milites, qui ei associantur*), there is no need to dwell, but here are other verbal resemblances which seem to show GR II to have been adapted directly from the book, and to favour EPB rather than FPB, though that is a small matter: GR II: *te ad magnas divicias promovebo* (translated in GR III: thou shalt be hily avaunced).

FPB, Cott. Dom. A X: *serroient richement marriez*
Cott. Cleop. D III: *deuoient bien estre mariez*

EPB, Harl. 2279: *shulde bene wel auaunced and married*

The father, disillusioned by the eldest daughter,

GR II: *cum hoc audisset, contristatus est valde et infra se dicebat: Heu mihi*

FPB: *Donqz soi maya [v. l. se dementa] Leir malement & dist en ploraunt Allas*

EPB: *tho made he sorowe ynowe and saide sore wepyng allas*

Later, when disillusioned by the second,

GR II: *contristatus est valde, dicens: Deceptus sum per duas filias. Iam temptabo terciam*

FPB: *se comenca leir trop a dolouser . . & dist . . . mes deux fillez me sount faillez . . . mais ore me couint a force quere cele . . .*

EPB: *Tho began leir ayein to wepe and made moche sorowe and said . . . my two doughters haue me thus deceyued . . and now mote I nedes sechen here that . . .*

GR II: statim collegit magnum exercitum

FPB: fist assembler graunt hoste

EPB: anone lete ordeyne a grete hoost

25. **GR III** is a literal translation of GR II. Uncertainty as to its distribution has led to the mistaken notion that Shakespeare may have seen it. But it exists in a single MS. (Harl. 7333) and was first printed, therefrom, by Douce, in 1807. It therefore has no better claim to a place in 'Shakespeare's Library' than Lay, RG, RM, or any other then unprinted version. There was an English book of the GR, it is true, first printed by Wynkyn de Worde c. 1510—1515, reprinted 1562, modernised and 'corrected' by Richard Robinson in 1577. It was a popular work under Elizabeth and ran through many editions (cf. Madden, GR, p. XVII; Hazlitt, Handbook to pop. Lit. 1877, on GR), but none of them contain more than 43 or 44 stories, neither of which, as Madden's Table shows, is that of Theodosius or of Leyre. Adeë, 'Bankside' K. L., New York 1890, p. XLIII f., writes of the GR as follows: — 'This chronicle (*sic*) exists in two forms, the well-known printed book, and a MS. of the Harleian collection, No. 7333. In the first is recounted the history of King Leyre . . . The Harl. MS. tells the tale of Theodosius . . . Knight evidently confounds the Harleian MS. with the better known Gesta Romanorum, and White follows his error.' It is not so easy to say what Adeë 'evidently confounds' — it looks as though the English printed GR and Caxton's Chronicle were to him one and the same 'well-known' book — but his error is at least original. Not so that of Craig who appears to follow Adeë in writing (p. XLIX) of GRI (Leyre) as 'found in the ordinary printed edition', and that 'it is possible that our poet, who probably drew from this story-book for his *Merchant of Venice*, may have seen this account.' The sum of all this confusion is that whereas formerly some editors falsely assumed GR III to be one of the stories in the Elizabethan editions of the GR, latterly GRI has been given a turn.

Such statements, then, as that of Herrtage (p. XXVI) that the GR 'either directly or indirectly furnished to Shakespeare the ground-work of his Lear', prove to be entirely contrary to the facts. The three versions GR I, GR II, GR III, lie off the main current in a still backwater. Their influence on subsequent versions is *nil*.

26. **Breta Sögur** (BS). It was more convenient to group some of Wace's dependants (§§ 20—25) than to retain chronological order, which we may now resume, harking back to the Norse prose translation of Geoffrey printed in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1848, from the miscellany called Hauksbók (Haukr Erlendsson, † 1334) to which it was added c. 1400.¹⁾ When the translation was made I have not learnt. It recounts Leir's adventures from Geoffrey, fully, but with creditable independence, omitting archæological and other obscurities, frequently substituting direct speech, and giving the story as far as possible a Scandinavian setting. Leir, it states at the beginning, was not a wise man; and the statement prepares for his folly in rejecting a daughter who is a model of submissiveness: Gordeilla on receiving her sentence replies, Whatever thou wilt do, I hold to be the best. The character of Aganippus is more to the translator's taste. When in a speech to the assembled 'thing', he proposes to cede his realm to Leir, his men decline to accept another king, but welcome the idea of an expedition under his leadership. This writer's sympathy with the king of France leads to his providing him with an heir. Leir's unhappy position after landing in France, poorly clad, with a single swain, so that people laughed at him and mocked him, recalls Sc. 24 of the Old Play where the appearance of Leir and Perillus in 'motly gaberdine' and 'sheeps russet sea-gowne' excites the mirth of Mumford: 'here comes a couple of old youthes, I must needs make my selfe fat with iesting at them'.

¹⁾ Brenner, *Altnordisches Handbuch*, Lpz. 1882, p. 12, 20.

27. **Johannes Historicus** in his *Angliae Chronicon*, to 1350 (printed in Ludewig's *Reliquae Manuscriptorum*, vol. XII) reduces Leir's reign, to his restitution, to 14 years (A. M. 3080—3094) and the story to half that number of lines.

28. **Higden's Polychronicon** is still more brief, recording little beyond the successions of Leir and Cordeilla. To the statement that her nephews imprisoned Cordeilla, MSS. C and D add *et usque ad mortem afflixerunt*. The two English translations, by John Trevisa, 1387, and by an unknown hand of the 15th century, add nothing (ed. Babington and Lumby, Rolls Ser. III 28 f., 38 f.).

29. **Eulogium Historiarum** (EulHist), a chronicle from the Creation to 1366, 'a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum', gives in lib. V, cap. ix—xi a version which to the extent of about two-thirds is copied from Geoffrey word for word or with slight syntactical changes, but otherwise shows no undue respect for his authority. Besides usual omissions, the questioning scene is much condensed, and Leir's return to Gonorilla is cut out and her part transferred bodily to Regan. But Leir's lament at sea is lengthened by several noisy lines, full of O's and Heu's. The monk of Malmesbury was apparently something of a humourist, though perhaps an unconscious one. Opposite these original lines he drew, according to his editor, "a grotesque profile in black and red ink, the features turned away from the text, but the eyes looking askance towards it with an expression of 'knowing' mistrust". The narrative is resumed, ridiculously, with 'Tandem his gemitibus fatigatus venit ubi filia sua morabatur'. Here Dover is first brought into the story, and Trinovantum (cf. III § 27); the mention of a British faction favourable to the invaders from France, and some other variations referred to in III §§ 4 b, and 15. The chronicler is said to have used either FPB or its sources (Eul. Hist. ed. Haydon. Rolls Ser. I, p. LXX). In these chapters there is no trace of FPB or of Wace.

Of the many historical works likely to contain something about Leir which I have not seen, may be mentioned with regret Sir Th. Gray's *Scalachronica* in French prose (c. 1362) of which Bk. I, founded on Geoffrey, has not been printed (the part from 1066 ed. Stevenson, Edinb. 1886); and the translation of Geoffrey, 'much more extensive than the original', into old English by 'Maister Gnaor', preserved in the 14th century MS. Coll. Arm. XXII. Cf. Hardy, Descr. Cat. No. 834.

30. **Thomas Otterbourne** fl. 1400, a Franciscan, native of Northumberland, was held, without good reason, to be the author of a Latin chronicle to 1420 (cf. DNB). Hearne's edition of the work in *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Oxf. 1732, shows (vol. I, p. 11) a short summary of the two reigns from Geoffrey.

31. **Jean Wauquelin**, a native of Picardy, settled at Mons in Hainault, made a translation of Geoffrey into French prose, in 1445, for 'Monseigneur de Croy', father of the first Count of Chimay. The copy in MS. Lansdowne 214, Brit. Mus., c. 1460, shows it to be conscientious work, of little interest. The translator nowhere departs from the original in the portion I have read except to place king Aganippus in Hainault (fol. 103 b, l. 2). Cf. Ward, Cat. Rom. I 251 f.; Gröber, Grundr. II, 1, 1143 f.

32. **Jean de Wavrin**. The Bastard de Wavrin, Jean, Seigneur de Forestel, fought at Agincourt on the side of France, and afterwards with Burgundy on the English side. He also wrote for his nephew and patron, Waleran, lord of Wavrin, a *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, from the coming of Albina and her sisters to 1472, the first four volumes, to 1413, between 1445 and 1455. The second and third books of vol. I present a version of the British history distinct from any yet mentioned, not compiled by Wavrin, but adopted by him with perhaps a slight revision from an already existing work, of which

the Paris MSS. F. fr. Nos. 2806 and 5621 are earlier copies (cf. Wavrin ed. W. Hardy, Rolls Ser., I, p. LXIII f.). The authorities given in the text for the chapter on Leir (Vol. I, Bk. 2, Ch. 31) are an unknown 'livre du Tresor des Histoires', 'Maistre Gaste' (Wace) and other 'istoires anchiennes'. Analysis of its contents shows some elements from Wace, but Geoffrey is the chief though probably not the immediate source. A Paris MS. indeed confesses, 'fe nav point veu Brust en Latin' (p. 92). We meet here with some details that are new. Leir becomes exceedingly wise after the event, and in the course of his lament recollects a number of proverbs that meet his case perfectly, and recall the wisdom of the Fool. He regrets having disregarded a proverb he learnt in his youth: 'Qui plus aime aultrui que soy, A la fontaine meurt de soif'. And again: 'Mieulx vault donner et retenir Que tout donner et puis querir'. Then the 'dit du villain': 'Qui jette ce quen sa main tient. Assez prez (*v. l.* a ses piedz) comme fol se maintient; Qui de son serf fait son seigneur, Vivre doit bien en deshonneur'. And finally the proverb quoted above, p. 22, note. The compiler found conflicting accounts of Cordeille's reign. That which he prefers to follow, as supported by 'Maistre Gaste et autres istories anchiennes' gives Cordeille the victory over her rebellious nephews, by the aid of certain French noblemen, 'cest a scavoir le duc de Sens, le duc de Laon et le conte de Corbueil, lesquelz elle avoit nouris en sa jonesse'. They compel the nephews to make peace with their aunt; after which she reigned seven years, died, and was buried beside Leir at Leicester. The other account, from the 'Tresor', relates her imprisonment and suicide in agreement with Geoffrey, Wace, etc. Hardy (p. 526) suggests a transposition of 'maistre du Tresor' and 'maistre Gaste', but that would not dispose of the 'aultres istories anchiennes,, or the previous remark, 'Mais je treuve icy, selon le livre du Tresor des Histoires, faulte', etc. One is tempted to suspect that the author of the work adopted by Wavrin

drew upon his imagination, and that the title of his patron is among those of the French nobles who came to the rescue of their late queen.

33. **Hardyng's Chronicle.** John Hardyng was admitted at the age of 12 into the household of Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), whose death he witnessed at Shrewsbury, 1403. About 1445 he wrote a chronicle in rhyme royal of all the kings from Brutus to Henry VI, and afterwards continued it to 1464. He acknowledges 'To the Reader' the help of 'Gaufride' among other writers, and the few variations from Geoffrey in the ten stanzas which give a meagre account of our two reigns (ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 52 ff.) do not occur in any of the above versions, except the burial of Cordell beside her father, which also happens in Wavrin (cf. § 32 and III § 25). They are none of them more important than this, and if we take the last stanza of the ten as a specimen of what a later chronicler, Speed, calls his 'home-spun poetry',¹⁾ it will be seen, I think, that an imagination capable of producing the last two lines may well be credited with the creation of a 'flamyne' at Leicester, 'as he a bishop were', and the other trifles.

For sorow then, she sleugh hir selfe for tene
And buried was by side hir father right,
In Janus temple, whiche kyng Leyr made I wene
At Kairleyr so that nowe Laicester hight.
Thus died this quene, that was of mucche might,
Hir soule went to Janus, whome she serued,
And to Mynerue, whose loue she had deserued.

Bishop Bale in his *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum . . summarium*, 1548, p. 2, refers to Hardyng as the authority for the foundation of Stamford University by Bladud, and throws out a hint which I have not been able to follow up: 'Et id se narrat a quodam Merlini Caledonii excepisse tractatu.'

¹⁾ The Historie of Great Britaine, by John Speed, 2nd ed., L. 1623, p. 14.

34. **Herolt.** Johannes Herolt, called *Discipulus*, a Dominican friar of Basle and a famous preacher c. 1470, wrote a Latin homily-book with a second part, a Promptuary, or repository of examples for composing sermons, one of which (Joh. Herolt sive Discipuli Sermones cum Promptuario. Norimb. 1480, Lit. M., Ex. XXXIX) is an outline of the story of Leir (here called 'keyr') to his restoration, from the 'hystoriis britonum', followed by a moralisation in the style of the GR. It is apparently abridged from Geoffrey. The only intentional departure has been referred to above, in § 23. (Cf. Grässe II, 2, 169; Warton-Hazlitt. I 302).

35. **Gottschaleus Holle**, an Augustinian, author of a kind of commentary to the Ten Commandments, used the story to the restoration as an example for the Fifth Commandment. His authority was 'Brutus in cronica sua', i. e. Geoffrey, whose actual words are retained in the greater part of the brief outline (Gotschalci Hollen Praeceptorium divinum. Coloniae, 1484, cii C. — Cf. Grässe, IV 403).

36. **Pierre le Baud** finished a 'Histoire de Bretagne' in 1480, which was first printed in 1638 at Paris.¹⁾ The history of Brittany is preceded by that of Britain, in which the author announces his intention to follow chiefly 'Geoffroy Artur Euesque de Monemitense, Historien Anglois' (p. 20). This he does, but the marriage of Gonorille 'auec la partie Australle de l'isle, à Maglanus, Roy de Cornoüaille', and of Regan 'auec celle Debise' to Albany, together with the statement that Cordelle 'virilement tua soy-mesme' (p. 26) point to Henry of Huntingdon's epistle, probably through Robert de Torigni (cf. § 1).

37. John **Rous** (1411?—1491), antiquary of Warwick, wrote a Latin history of the kings of England from the beginning of the world to the birth of Prince Arthur, 1486.

¹⁾ Cf. Bouchart ed. Le Meignen, Rennes 1886, p. VII.

He omits the story itself, but was interested in Geoffrey's allusions to British antiquities at Leicester, etc. He agrees with Harding that Leir 'ibi statuit flaminem et templum in nomine Jani.'

38. Robert **Fabyan**, clothier, alderman and sheriff of London, expanded his diary into a general history, which he called 'The Concordaunce of Histories', his aim being to harmonise the accounts of previous writers, a task of no small difficulty when dealing with the fabulous British history. His work, completed c. 1493, was first printed in 1516. His version of Leir (reprint, ed. Ellis, 1811, p. 14—16) important as the basis of Holinshed's, is derived chiefly from Geoffrey, who is repeatedly mentioned in the text (as Galfride or Gaufride). The variants *Leyth*, for Leyr, and *Agampe*, for Aganippus, suggest respectively the collation of Caxton's edition of Trevisa's Higden, and Caxton's Chronicle, both which works are included in his list of books consulted; but though Fabyan's critical sagacity is not commended, he clearly knew that for this part of his work the authority of Geoffrey was paramount. He did not read the Latin, however, as carefully as he might. He retains *tentare illum cupiens* yet makes Cordeilla answer *ex abundantia cordis*; confuses the two dukes; and omits so much detail that the story loses great part of its interest.

39. Joh. **Naclerus**, first rector of the University of Tübingen (1477), gives in his universal history to 1500, a short abstract apparently from Geoffrey, about which there is nothing further to remark (*Memorabilium omnis aetatis* etc., Tubing. 1516, fol. LXVII).

40. Alain **Bouchart**, a Breton of noble family, occupied his leisure from parliamentary duties with the study of history. The resultant book, the first extensive history of Brittany, was completed, and printed at Paris, in 1514. Like Le Baud, and Lobineau and Morice in the 18th century, he tells of the fabled exploits of the British kings before crossing with Conan Meriadec to Armorica (cf. *Les Grandes Croniques de*

Bretaigne . . par Maistre Alain Bouchart, ed. Le Meignen, Rennes 1886, p. V f.). Leyr's history is taken from Geoffrey, and much condensed. The peculiarities of this version are noticed in Ch. III, §§ 21, 25.

41. **Perceforest.** The history of the British kings forms a mere episode in the huge French prose romance of Perceforest. I have not seen the work in its MS. form, where Wace is said to have been drawn upon (cf. Ward, Cat. Rom. I 377), but the printed *Perceforest*, Paris 1528, gives in Bk I, Ch. xi, a version of the story which aims at being a literal rendering of Geoffrey, the only apparent obstacle being the translator's comparative ignorance of Latin. He translates 'Marganum Maglaunus generaverat' by 'Marganum auoit engendre Maglanius'; Janus by 'ianuiér'; 'ut ex illa haeredes haberet' by 'pour en faire son heritière'; '. . . charissima filia, te audebo adire, qui ob praedicta verba iratus . . .' by 'O chere fille, ie te demanderoye volentiers si pour les parolles que ie te dys lors, tu en as aucun courroux ou indignation contre moy'; the end of Cordeilla's answer by 'autant que tu as vescu autant ie tay ayme' but Leir's calling it to mind, 'dixisti enim: Quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo' by 'tu me respondis que tant comme tu as vescu et que tu viuroys tu mas tousiours ayme', which argues a want of common sense as well as lack of Latin. Dunlop's ideas of the transmission of the story (Hist. of Prose Fiction, ed. Wilson, 1888, I 240) are chaotic: 'From Perceforest the tale' — which 'was first related of a Roman emperor in the GR' (cf. § 24) — 'has found its way into Fabyan's Concordance of Histories, . . . and thence passed into various Lamentable ballads of the death of King Leyr and his three daughters.' Fabyan made his own translation of 'Gaufride' (cf. § 38). From Perceforest the tale found its way, deservedly, nowhere, as far as I know. As to the various Lamentable ballads on the four deaths, neither Dunlop nor anyone else ever heard of any but one, on which cf. § 57.

42. John **Rastell**, printer and lawyer in London, compiled and printed in 1529 'The Pastyme of the People, or the Chronicles of dyuers Realms, and most specyally of the realme of England.' His account of Leyr and Cordell to her imprisonment (her death is not mentioned) is that of EPB, through Cxt, abridged to about one-fifth. The objection to 'Agamp', 'kyng of Fraunce' in 'Galfridus', is inserted from Fabyan. Reprint, ed. Dibdin, 1811, p. 90 f.

43. **Polydore Vergil** (PV), a native of Italy, settled in England from 1501, composed a history of the country in Latin, from the earliest times to the death of Henry VII. It is in this version, re-told from Geoffrey in about 270 words, one-fifth the number in the original, that Cordilla's answer first alludes to the love she will bear towards her future husband; cf. § 55. The English translation made from the 1546 edition (PV's Engl. Hist. ed. Ellis, L. 1846, p. 35 f.; cf. Churchill, Richard III up to Shakespeare, Berlin 1900, p. 128) is for this portion an accurate rendering of the first edition (Polydori Vergilii Anglica Historia, Basel 1534, p. 19 f.).

The notes from Geoffrey on the two reigns in Leland's *Collectanea* (ed. Hearne, 1715, I 19) cannot by any stretch be called a version. Leland agrees with his adversary on the Arthurian legend, PV, in degrading Aganippus to a 'regulus Gallorum.'

PV's want of faith in Geoffrey roused the ire of Arthur Kelton, a native of Shrewsbury, who in a little work dedicated to Edward VI, printed by Grafton in 1547, traced the young king's lineal descent through 32 generations from Osiris the first king of Egypt, through Brute. The book is entitled 'A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Brittons and Welshemen are lineallye dyscended from Brute. Newly and very wittely compyled in Meter.' It tells nothing about Leir.

44. **Lanquet** and Cooper. The general history brought down to A. D. 17 by Thomas Lanquet and continued at his death by Thomas Cooper to Edward VI, and generally

known as *Cooper's Chronicle*, mentions some supposed historical facts like Cordeilla's suicide, but omits the story entirely (*An Epitome of Cronicles . . .*, 1549, p. 37 f.).

45. Gyles **Godet**, in his address 'To the Reader', introduces 'a brief abstract of the genealogie and race of all the kynges of England, from the floudde of Noe . . . to this present day' (1560); refers to the difficulty of getting at the truth, especially in things long past, owing to the great diversities of chronicles, and proceeds: 'I haue also set forth the portraitures of their personages, with their true armes; also briefly their gestes, & deedes with the yeares of their raygnes & places of their burials, according as I haue found mention therof'. This rare book, b. l., large folio, is a series of large portraits of all the kings of England, including Noah; with the armorial bearings of each personage, except Noah and Cham, above, and a few lines of letter-press beneath each portrait. In the Brit. Mus. (Grenville) copy the engravings are coloured. (Cf. Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, 1876, p. 186.) Under the portraits of 'Leir the second' and 'Queen Cordeile' there is a scanty outline of their 'gestes'. Godet claims to have had 'the helpe of the best Cronicles'. Cordeile's place of burial 'bi hir father in the toune of Leicester' may have come from Hardyng, and the rest from almost anywhere.

46. John **Stow**, tailor, antiquary, and the most business-like of English chroniclers of the 16th century (DNB), gives, in his 'Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles', about 130 words on the two reigns, compiled from Hardyng and Fabyan; Leir's 'placyng a Flamyn' in the temple of Janus, the titles of Cordelle or Cordyla's nephews, and her burial beside her father being taken from Hardyng, and her imprisonment and death from Fabyan, almost word for word: 'caste her in pryson: where she beyng in dispayre of recoueryng [Fab: being dyspayred of the recouery of] her estate (as testifieth Galfride) slewe herselfe', etc. (*Summarie*, 1565, p. 11 b, f.). In his more important '*Annales*', 1592, the first

edition of which, 1580, was entitled 'The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto . . . 1580' Stow merely repeats what he had written in his *Summarie*, correcting two names to 'Cordeilla' and 'Cunedagius', and inserting Geoffrey's description of Leir's vault, and the custom of the Leicester workmen, from Rous. (The Annales of England, 1592, p. 15).

47. Richard **Grafton**, in his dedication, said he was moved to write his 'Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande', by the circulation of an inaccurate work, Stow's *Summarie* (DNB). But while 1562 is the date of the first edition of the 'Abridgment', in the article on Stow the DNB states that it was "not until 1565 that Stow produced his 'Summarie'."¹) This complicates the question, which of the rivals copied? The internal evidence obtained by comparing the 1570 'Abridgement' (p. 3 b) with the 1565 'Summarie', is in favour of Stow as the original, for in the passage quoted above, § 46, borrowed from Fabyan, Grafton omits the words, '(as testifieth Galfride)'. In place of 'a Temple of Janus' Grafton has 'a temple called Janus', which is no improvement; he corrects 'Conedagus' to 'Cunedagius', 'Liere' (once) to 'Leyre'; adds the variant 'Cordeilla' to the other two forms of the name, and varies two or three times in spelling and punctuation. Otherwise the two accounts are absolutely identical. The explanation is, I suppose, that Stow's work had circulated in MS. some years before it was printed. But I have not seen the earlier editions (1562, 1563, 1564) of the 'Abridgement' (here referred to as Grafton's *Abr.*). Grafton's 'Manuell of the Chronicles of Englande', 1565, gives nothing beyond the dates of Leyre and Cordella.

In his more ambitious work, 'A Chronicle at Large', 1568, Grafton shows that he had no objection to wholesale borrowing. In his imposing list of authors consulted, Geoffrey figures twice, as 'Gaaufride', and 'Geoffrey of Monmouth', but the appeals in the text to his authority on

¹) Morley, *First Sketch of Engl. Lit.*, 1889, p. 348, states that Stow produced his *Summary* in 1561.

Leir are taken as they stand from Fabyan, whose account Grafton transfers bodily to his own compilation. There are a number of stylistic changes, but the only sign of his having looked up the story elsewhere is a closer rendering than Fabyan's of *Quantum habes, tantum vales*. He had probably glanced at the 'Flowres of Histories' (MW) mentioned in his list (Grafton's Chronicle, 2nd ed., 1569; reprinted Ellis, 1809, I 35 ff.; here called Grft).

48. The **Mirror for Magistrates** (MfM). About 1557, Thomas Sackville, collaborator with Norton in the tragedy of 'Gorboduc', c. 1561, planned a poem on the model of Lydgate's 'Falls of Princes.' He prepared an 'Induction', and wrote one legend, of the Duke of Buckingham executed in 1483, and then handed over the design to Baldwin, who with other help completed it under the title of 'A Myrrovre for Magistrates' (DNB). The Introduction to the first edition, 1559, contains a hint from Ferrers as to the desirability of enlarging the series, 'to searche and discourse our whole storye from the beginning of the inhabiting of this Isle'; words which found fruitful soil in the mind of John Higgins, who quotes them as part apology for the 16 legends from his pen, issued in 1574 as 'The firste parte of the Mirour for Magistrates, containing the falles of the first infortunate Princes of this lande: From the coming of Brute to the incarnation' etc. Higgins added another legend to a second edition of the First Part, 1575, and 23 more to the collective edition prepared in 1587. He humbly acknowledges his book to be entirely imitative of the original MfM, 'a worke by all men wonderfully commended, and full of fitte instructions for preservation of each estate', to be followed with 'the like admonition, meter and phrase.' The metre is Sackville's stanza, rhyme royal with the first five lines lengthened to 12 syllables. In imitation of Sackville, too, there is an Induction, in which the poet is conducted by Morpheus, as servant of Somnus, to a goodly hall, where the ghosts of the 'infortunate Princes' appear successively

and recite at length the faults that caused their falls. An Envoy of two or three stanzas from the poet himself connects each recital with the next. Of admonition there is more than one would imagine the hard-headed, enterprising Elizabethans could relish. Higgins mechanically forces from every violent death a moral of something to be avoided. Albanact was slain while driving back the invading 'Hunnes.' His ghost appears to show that he ought to have known better: — 'Such was my fate to venture on so bolde'; and to advise, 'You warriours léarne by mee, beware, Let wise-dome worke, lay rashnesse all aparte', etc. Humber had the disadvantage of being a foreigner, but the lesson he teaches, because 'he could not byde at home content with his', is not in the spirit of, say, Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Again, Bladud's too literal Fall is a warning 'for curious men, Whose wittes the worke of nature seeke to wrest.' Leir does not appear. The king who so often had held up his misfortunes as an ensample, a warning (cf. RG, v. 819 ff.; TQ, v. 3737 f.; RM, v. 2454f.), and a mirror (cf. Eul. Hist.: *Omnes reges, speculum vestrum aspiciate, et dum bene vobis fuerit de me recolite*), had made a peaceful end three years after his restoration, and Higgins avoided 'swaruing from the matter' of the chronicles. Leir is therefore passed over, and the next troubled spirit after Bladud is Queene Cordila. The poet might with benefit have imitated Sackville's 'phrase' more closely. A ghost, and the ghost of a queen, surely should maintain a high level of dignified language; but Cordila has some astonishing lapses into homely metaphor. She makes known her willingness to relate her 'story tragicall ech word', but, she says, 'lest I set the horse behinde the cart, I minde to tell ech thing in order, so, As thou maist see and shew whence sprang my woe.' So she begins with her 'grandsire, Bladud', and follows with her 'father, Leire' in a detailed narrative.

The doleful setting imagined by the poet, whereby Cordila 'assaies From bleeding breast to tell her woefull

wrecke, With knife in hand', gives her recital, to a superficial view, a semblance of tragic unity, but there is in it the same want of inner harmony as in Geoffrey. If Higgins saw, he certainly does not show how Cordila's woe sprang from the events recorded in the first 24 stanzas, to the Happy Ending. We learn that her jealous sisters sought her wreck to wage, over the Love-test; but they failed, for vice cannot keep virtue underneath (St. 8). The author may have been dimly conscious of something of the Oedipodean idea, of the ill-starred line of Brute, emphasised in 'Gorboduc.' In the next legend we find Morgan of Albany, Gonerell's son, confessing his fall to be the due penalty for having caused the death of Cordila, whose blood before the seat of God did call for vengeance still; and that 'The cause Cordila ought her sisters spite, Was, they procur'd her and their father's thrall.' That is Morgan's view. Cordila says her nephews kept her in prison and bade her be content with life, since she began the strife with their mothers; but she owns up to no spite. Higgins had not even the courage to bring in the Villain Nemesis of the folk-tales, and kill the wicked sisters. We are told that Cordila outlived them (Morgan, St. 3), but not how they died. They simply drop out of the story after the battle, as in the chronicles the author read. The attempt at a sequence of guilt and punishment, if it was made, is quite ineffectual. As far as Leir is concerned, the curse was clearly in abeyance. His unpleasant experience is amply atoned for by his restoration. And Cordila's real troubles, which alone lead up to the climax of her suicide, begin when, after she had been five years Queen, holding the Britons at what beck she would, her loving king Aganippus died, and her sisters' sons began to wage war upon her for her crown.¹⁾ This is all sad enough, but it has no kind of

¹⁾ A stanza inserted in the 1575 edition after St. 25, and wisely omitted in that of 1587, assigns another motive for their insurrection: her nephews, Cordila says, 'that loude me never well . . would against

connection with the Love-test, and all the history of Leir. Turning to the end we find that Cordila's moral is directed solely at suicide. It is her fault in killing herself that she bewails, for 'Farre greater follye is it for to kill Themselves dispayring, then is any ill.' The fact is, that Higgins was hopelessly out of his depth. The plan of the 'Mirror' demanded a 'story tragical'. His excessive respect for the chronicles he so carefully studied forbade him to tamper with historical facts. He tries, and fails, to present as Tragedy what is in reality Comedy, the story of Leir, by having it related by the victim of undeserved suffering, the heroine of the inorganic tragic sequel. Clio and Melpomene between them lead him a sorry dance. — But however poor as art, his version is of very considerable importance, for not only does he go back in diligent search of detail — Leir's knights, for instance, are mentioned nowhere else, except in the printed Perceforest, between Cxt and Shakespeare — but the centre of interest is shifted from the story proper, which here becomes rudimentary, to the tragic sequel, which he expands into 24 stanzas, containing what Warton considered the most poetical passage of all his work (Warton ed. Hazlitt, IV, 195). Cordila depicts in lurid colours the horrors of her imprisonment, contrasting her loathsome dungeon, her bed of straw, etc., with her former state. In the darkness she sees a 'grizely ghost' approach. It is 'Despayre', who counsels death and provides a knife. After a long debate, Cordila yields, says her farewell, partly in French, and Despair strikes the blow. The scene is supposed to have suggested the temptation of the 'Redcrosse' knight by Despair in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, Bk. I, ch. IX (cf. Warton, ib. p. 196; Herford, Eversley K. L., p. 9). Higgins's treatment of the story cannot have been without effect on Shakespeare, to whom it certainly was known (cf. III § 28). The mere fact of an attempt at a tragic setting is important.

mee Cordell fight, Because I loude always that seemed right; Therefore they hated mee and did pursue Their aunte and Queene as she had been a jewe.'

The words in which Higgins refers to his authorities afford an interesting comment on some of the chronicles dealt with above. In a preface to the 1574 edition he writes (MfM ed. Haslewood, I 7 f.): — ‘I haue seen no auncient antiquities in written hand but two: one was Galfridus of Munmouth, which I lost by misfortune; the other, an old chronicle in a kind of Englishe verse, beginning at Brute and ending at the death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester; in the which, and diuers other good chronicles, I finde many thinges not mentioned in that great tome engroced of late by Maister Grafton; and that, where he is most barraine and wants matter. . . . I was often fayne to vse mine own simple invention, yet not swaruing from the matter: because the chronicles (although they went out vnder diuers mens names) [cf. § 47] in some suche places as I moste needed theyr ayde, wrote one thing, and that so brieflye, that a whole prince’s raigne, life, and death, was comprysed in three lines; yea, and sometimes mine olde booke, aboue mentioned, holpe mee out when the rest forsoke mee. As for Lanquet, Stowe, and Grafton [they] were alwayes nighe of one opinion: but the Floure of Histories somewhat larger: some helpe had I of an old chronicle imprinted the year 1515.’

With these hints (or even without them), getting at Higgins’ sources is not a difficult task. His MS. of Geoffrey must have gone astray before he turned his attention to Cordila; its use cannot be traced. The old chronicle in a kind of English verse was apparently a MS. of Hardyng (cf § 33; Duke Humphrey died 1447), which however supplied little besides some of the names, and the title of Ragan’s husband and son, ‘of Camber and Cornwall’ or ‘of Cornwall and of Wales’ (Hard.: ‘of Cambre and Cornewaile’, ‘of Walis, and of Cornwayle ther by’). Hardyng’s rhyme, ‘The fyrst of them was called Gonorelle, The next Ragan, and the youngest Cordelle’, no doubt suggested that of St. 7, ‘the eldest hight Gonerell . . his yonger Ragan . . the

yongest nam'd Cordell', since Cordila is the form previously and generally used by Higgins. Camber and Cornwall, Morgan of Albanie, Gonorell, Ragan, Cordell might otherwise have come *viâ* Stow's *Summarie*, which gives the forms Cordyla (later, *Chronicles* 1580, Cordila) and Conedagus, nearer to Cordila and Conidagus than those of any other authority (Grafton's Abridgement: Cunedagius) named. Leir's burial in the temple of Janus is not expressly stated in any of them but Hardyng, but implied in Stow (and Graft. Abr., Cordyla buried there 'by her father'). Higgins appears not to have known of Grafton's editions of Hardyng, but by that great tome to mean Grafton's *Chronicle* (cf. § 47), for the use of which there is nothing more conclusive than the lines 'King Aganippus well agreed to take me so, He deemde that vertue was of dowries all the best' (cf. Grft.: Aganippus... remembring the vertues of the aforementioned Cordeilla, did without promise of Dowar, take the sayde Cordeilla to his wyfe). The *Floure of Histories* was one of Archbishop Parker's editions of MW (cf. § 6). 'Caxton's' Chronicle was twice reprinted in 1515, once by Julian Notary, and again by Wynkyn de Worde (cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. of Early Printed Books). These two versions, MW and Cxt, prove to have given most help, and together, in imperfect combination, supply the bulk of Cordila's account of her father's reign. The textual corrections and the two additional stanzas in the 1575 edition (here to be called MfM 75) indicate no further research, but in the revision for the 1587 edition (MfM 87) the insertion of 'Maglaurus' (St. 13, 19) shows that Higgins still had MW at hand, while St. 11 and 12 are partly re-written to introduce PV's version of Cordeilla's answer (cf. p. 124). Probably, too, 'regulus Gallorum' in PV caused the alteration of 'king' into 'Prince' (St. 14). The epithet 'unweldy' for 'aged' in St. 16 is not sufficient evidence for the consultation of Holinshed.

What Higgins calls his simple invention goes for something. He found in Cxt that Cordila was fairer than

her sisters. He goes a step or two further towards the Cinderella-variants, and make them jealous (St. 8), so that the father's anger is kept alive 'by their intisment' (St. 15 in 75). Cf. further on Higgins, p. 104-8. — One example of his method in using his authorities may be given. In St. 16 we are told how the elder daughters (75, = Cxt; 87 'their husbands', = MW, PV, etc.) rose as rebels and deprived Leir of his crown and right (MW: *et abstulerunt ei regnum atque regiam potestatem*; Cxt: *bynome hym holy the royahme*) and the three following stanzas relate after Cxt how it was agreed that Leir should have a train of 'threescore knightes and squires' (87: 'sixty Knights'), and how they were reduced successively to thirty, ten, five, and one. Now the 12th century historiographer of St. Albans (cf. § 6) had saved parchment by condensing all the corresponding part of Geoffrey into one paragraph, making Goneril and Regan 'hit together', and ascribing Goneril's unfilial language, with improvements, to both sisters. This divergent account supplied material for part of another stanza, which hardly harmonises with what goes before (St. 21): 'Eke at what time he askte of eache to have his gard, To garde his grace where so he walkte or wente: They calde him doting foole, all his hestes debarde, Demaunded if with life he could not be contente'. Cf. MW: 'Rex . . deliberavit tandem filias suas adire, . . ut si fieri posset, sibi dum viveret et XL militibus suis stipendia ministrarent. Quae cum indignatione verbum ex ore rapientes, dixerunt eum senem esse, delirum, et mendicum, nec tanta familia dignum. Sed si vellet, relictis caeteris cum solo milite remaneret'.

49. **Holinshed's Chronicle** (Hol). The work designed by Wolfe in 1548, and completed, after his death in 1573, by Holinshed, with the assistance of Harrison, was published in 1577. The second edition, 1587, 3 vols., folio, prepared by Hooker and others, was that which Shakespeare used (cf. DNB; Boswell-Stone, Shakespeare's Holinshed, L. 1896,

p. X). The text of the story from Bk. II of the *Historie of England* given by Furness in the *New Variorum K. L.* is stated (p. 384) to be from ed. 1574 (*sic*), but the textual changes noted by Boswell-Stone (p. IX, note 2) show it to be that of the 1587 ed. These changes, however, are quite immaterial, e. g. 'unneth' altered to 'scarslie'. The authorities for Leir cited in the margin (ed. 1587, p. 12f.) are 'Mat. West.' and 'Gal. Mon.' But there is no evidence that when the text was written 'Gal. Mon.' was actually consulted. The only words in Ch. V and Ch. VI to Cordeilla's death that come directly from Geoffrey are in the marginal note on Aganippus: — 'He governed the third part of Gallia as *Gal. Mon.* saith.' Whatever else may appear to be due to Geoffrey — about four lines altogether — may also have come from MW, and one of these short passages is certainly from MW, not Geoffrey, namely that which places Leir's vault under the Sore 'beneath the towne' of Leicester (cf. MW: *infra* Legecestriam; Geoff.: *intra* Legecestriam).¹⁾ If the author, who evidently was not unwilling to enlarge on Fabyan, his chief source, had read Geoffrey before writing this chapter, he would undoubtedly have found something to interest him. Besides Fabyan and MW, Cxt was used. The first part of Ch. V is almost entirely Fabyan, with the language modernised, and with some slight changes, additions, and omissions, and one very important variation, on the motive for the Question. Where Fabyan has simply 'to knowe the mynde of his .iii. doughters', Hol. has 'he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whom he best loved, to the succession over the kingdome.' This is an entirely different motive from that of any earlier version, and it did not fail of its effect on Shakespeare (cf. p. 168, 174). The influence of Cxt is

¹⁾ Other points from MW (= Geoff.): — Leicester on the Sore; literal rendering of *Quantum habes, tantum vales*; the nephews' disdain to be under the government of a woman.

first noticeable where the qualities in Cordeilla that won the heart of Aganippus are enumerated;¹⁾ becomes stronger after Leir's deposition, and from his arrival in Gallia down to the death of the two dukes in the battle, the narrative is almost entirely a condensation of Cxt. In the few lines of Ch. VI, Fab., Cxt, and MW are all to be traced.

50. William **Warner**, *Albion's England*. This work, a long episodic poem in 14-syllable lines which rivalled the MfM in popular esteem (cf. Warton, ed. Hazlitt, IV 202), in its original shape (1st ed., 1586, four books) treated of legendary or imaginary incidents of British history from the time of Noah till William I. It gradually grew to sixteen books (5th ed., 1602, 13 bks; 'A continuance' etc., 1606, Bks. 14—16; cf. DNB). Warner makes a selection of the most attractive stories in the British history, skipping from Locrine to Leir, and then without relating Cordella's death, to Iden the 'tyrannous mother' of Ferrex and Porrex. Leir is disposed of in Bk. III, Ch. XIV, in 48 lines, or, as the work is reprinted, in 8's and 6's, in 96 lines (Chalmers, English Poets, IV, 1810, p. 538f.). The account is too short and free to show with certainty what other chronicles the author had read in addition to Cxt, to which 'Agamp' and Leir's lament before leaving Britain point definitely. The regular substitution of Gallia for France suggests either Fab., Grft. or Hol., and any one of these may have furnished 'Albanie' and the rebellion not of the daughters, as in Cxt and MfM 75, but of their husbands. Leir's making known 'Vnto Cordella his estate, who rueth him so poore', slightly favours Hol., cf. 'Cordeilla hearing that he was

¹⁾ Cf. Fab.: Aganippus . . harde of the beautie and womanhode of Cordeilla; Hol.: Aganippus, hearing {of the beautie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla; Cxt: but this Cordeyl was wonder fayr, and of so goode condycyons and maners / that the kyng of Fraunce agampe herd of hyr speke.

arriued in poore estate.' — Warner makes a considerable advance on Cxt in first telling of an attempt on Leir's life (cf. § 53, a, i): —

. . . of two bads, for better's choyse, he backe againe did goe.
But Gonorill, at his returne, not onely did attempt
Her father's death, but openly did hold him in contempt.
His aged eyes powre out their teares, when holding vp his hands,
He say'd: "O God, who so thou art, that my good hap withstands,
Prolong not life, deferre not death, myself I ouer-lieue,
When those that owe to me their liues, to me my death would giue."

Cxt: . . . Alas that euer he come in to that londe / and
sayde / yet had me bene better to haue duellyd with my
fyrst doughter / And anon went thens to his first doughter /
but anone as she sawe him come she swore by god and
his holy names / and by as moche as she myght that he
shold haue no mo with hym but one knyght yf he wold
ther abide. Tho began leir ageyne to wepe / & made moch
sorow & said tho / allas now to long haue I liued . . . for
now . . . haue I no frende ne kyn that me wylle do ony
good / But whan I was ryche al men me honoured and
worshipped / and now euery man hath of me scorne and
despyte /

51. **Spenser's Faerie Queene (FQ).** In Bk. II, canto x, Spenser lets Prince Arthur, in the House of Temperance, read 'A chronicle of Briton kings, from Brute to Vthers rayne' from 'An auncient booke, hight *Briton moniments*' (II, ix, 534). Evidently it was Geoffrey's *liber vetustissimus* that 'chaunced to the Princes hand to rize.' Six stanzas of the canto, v. 240—293, tell of Leir and Cordelia. They were written, it seems, in Ireland. The poet had finished Bk. I and part of Bk. II before leaving England in 1580. The earliest references to Ireland appear in Bk. II, canto ix, and that book was probably completed in the early years of his residence in Dublin. Returning to London in Nov., 1589, he lost no time in getting a publisher for what was

ready of his work, namely the first three books. It was entered S. R. 1st Dec. 1589, and published 1590 (cf. DNB). This supplies a *terminus a quo* for the Old Play (cf. § 53,a, ii).

When we attempt to discover the sources of this version; we are confronted with the same difficulties, in a greater degree, as with Warner. It is altogether too compendious, and at the same time too independent, to supply sufficient data for a certain inference. With naïve writers like Higgins and the anonymous dramatist, who without any considerable previous knowledge of the British history compose immediately from authorities to which subsidiary points at once afford a clue, the task is easy. But in Spenser we have to do with an antiquary who had followed the then burning question of the authenticity of the British record with a zeal which it would not repay me, for the purposes of this study, to emulate. I therefore leave unanswered such questions as why he wrote 'Aganip of Celtica' when 'Gallia' would have given a better rhyme; what was his authority for sending Bladud to Athens (v. 228); whence came his knowledge of the Welsh for Brute Greneshield etc. (v. 220 f.). The names Gonerill, Cordeill, Maglan, Aganip are Englished directly from the original Latin forms, which are all given by Fab., Grft., Hol. Of these Hol. alone gives Regan (Fab., Grft.: Ragan) as in Geoffrey, and as much detail of the unkindness of the two daughters as Leir's 'going from the one to the other' (drawn from Cxt to eke out Fab.). In FQ Leyr goes from Gonerill to Regan, but not back again. The intended division, however (Mongst whom his realme he equally decreed To haue diuided), cannot possibly have come from Hol., where, as we have seen (§ 49), the king purposed giving the whole kingdom to Cordeilla. It agrees only with Eul. Hist. (cogitavit regnum inter eas aequis portionibus dividere), and PV (opes aequa lance dividendas statuit), both of which are otherwise out of the question. Geoffrey alone satisfies all demands. The desire for brevity

leads in Eul. Hist., PV, and FQ independently to the intended division in the original, into thirds, being regarded as equal, in comparison with the notorious inequality of the actual division, although there the king, by a lack of mathematical precision, contrives to make the third which he keeps up his sleeve for Cordeilla, larger than either of the two thirds he has already disposed of. (Just as Shakespeare's Lear does if we read 'equalities' with Q₁. Cf. p. 146, 170). But Geoffrey is very laxly followed; and one or two points, especially the title of Regan's husband, 'the king of Cambria', suggest that Spenser worked without the book, but from memory aided with notes of Geoffrey. Hardyng, followed by Stow's Sum., GrftAbr., MfM, adds Camber to Cornwall's territory, but Spenser was probably influenced by the recollection of Brute's division of Britain into Albania, Cambria, and Loegria. He cannot be freed from the reproach of inconsistency. Leir voluntarily divides his realm (v. 260) but does not grieve to be deposed (v. 266) and Cordelia levies an army 'to war on those, which him had of his realme bereau'd' (v. 284), as if his land had been taken from him by force, as in the original. — Rhyme in Spenser's difficult stanza is a powerful factor. It not only produces the meaningless statement that Leyr put his question 'with speeches sage', but is responsible for the form Cordelia (cf. p. 161—2) and for the hanging of the heroine ('herself she hong' to rhyme with 'strong' and 'long.' Cf. III, § 25).

52. **Harvey's *Philadelphus*.** Richard Harvey, notorious through his literary squabble with Nash, and as the subject of the latter's lampoon, 'Have with you to Saffron Walden', is less known by his 'Philadelphvs, or, A Defence of Brutus, and the Brutans History', L. 1593, b. 1., 4^o, dedicated to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. In this work the author attempts to lay the supposed British history before his readers in a kind of tabular analysis, in which the 'Artes and Actes of Brute and his Brutans' are all reduced to Virtues and

Vices. Leyr figures twice in the latter category (p. 23, 29): —

Their vice or folly seen in	{ <i>Wordes:</i> Leyr forgetting his Honour asked his three daughters a fond needlesse question, as some vse to dally with young children, and would forsooth, heare of them that were women grown, How much they loued him: they might haue shewed on their finger.
Their vice or Iniustice is proued in	{ <i>Diuiding:</i> . . . Leyr gaue halfe his goodes to his two eldest daughters at their marriage, and made them mightier than himselfe, for speaking to him fairely or paintedly, but he gaue nothing with <i>Cordeil</i> to her dowry, because she told him an open truth without anie forgerie. <i>Rewarding:</i> Leyr at his death gaue his halfe kingdome to <i>Cordeyl</i> , for defending him in trouble: the people made her queene by common consent, and thereby hindered the right of her two Nephewes the very next apparent heires.

Cordeil gives an example of Virtue (p. 18):

Their Vertue and Temperance appeared in	Talke and conference	<i>Betweene the father and the childe:</i> <i>Cordeil</i> being euer modestly and maydenly shamefaced, either would not or could not flatter her father <i>Leyr</i> with needlesse phrases and vain othes, but answered him mildly and simply without ostentation or deceite, that she loued him as her naturall father with an obedient euer and thankfull heart vnfaignedly.
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And again in that she 'behaued her selfe so louingly and patiently, that she would not punish the two sonnes of *Maglan* and *Hennine* for their fathers: she thought it no reason to plaister one bodie for an other bodies sores, to beate one for anothers fault', etc. But this sympathetic view of Cordeil does not prevent Harvey from finding in her deposition by the nephews examples of 'Their vertue or

fortitude . . . in — Warre — at home', and of their 'iustice . . in — Reuenging', 'seeing these were the sonnes of her eldest sisters'. His scheme compels him either to praise or blame. The suicide, again, exemplifies 'vice or extream fortitude . . known by — Pusillanimity or base idleness: . . . Cordeyl being at her wits end despaired of her libertie, and murdered her selfe in prison.'

Stokes (Chronolog. Order of Sh.'s Plays, L. 1878, p. 119) proposes this book as a possible source for Shakespeare. It is only a casual suggestion, with no reasons given, and I can supply none. Harvey derived his information from Fab., probably through Grft. This is shown by the names Gonoril, Ragan, Cordeil, Maglan, Hennine, formed like those in FQ, and by such verbal agreements as 'she loued him more than her owne soule (= Fab., Grft.; Hol.: 'life'); 'as her naturall father' etc. Cordeyl's burial at Leicester (p. 33) may be from Hardyng or Godet, but is more probably from either Stow or Grft. Abr. For every point of Shakespeare's knowledge of the story that may have come from Harvey we shall find an alternative in Hol. The extracts given here are of some slight interest as showing Harvey's views of Leyr's and Cordeil's actions, but there is nothing in them that can be thought to have influenced Shakespeare.

53. **The Old Play (OP).** The earliest evidence of a dramatisation of the Leir-story is the record in Henslowe's Diary that on April 6, 1593, a performance of 'kinge leare' at the Rose by the Queen's men and Sussex's together brought in 38 shillings (Malone, Hist. Acct. of Engl. Stage, 1800, p. 368). Henslowe also records a similar performance for April, 1594. "The entries, however, are so given that it is by no means certain he did not intend in both entries the year which commenced, under the old system, with 1593—4" (Halliwell[-Phillipps], Works of Sh., vol. XIV, 1865, p. 354). Fleay dates the two performances April 6 and 8, 1594 (Biogr. Chron. of Engl. Dr.

1891, II 51).¹⁾ On May 14, 1594 there was entered on the Stationers' Register, to Edward White, 'a booke entitled | *The moste famous Chronicle historye of Leire kinge of England and his Three Daughters*' (Arber's Transcript, II 649). Of this book, which there is no reason to doubt was a play, no copy has been found. On May 8, 1605, the following two entries were made, together: — to Simon Stafford "A booke called '*the Tragecall historie of kinge Leir and his Three Daughters &c.*' *As it was lately Acted*", and to John Wright 'by assignement from Simon Stafford and by consent of Master Leake, *The Tragical history of kinge Leire and his Three Daughters* | Provided that Simon Stafford shall haue the printinge of this booke' (Arber III 289). The title of this book is given in the reprint here used (Sh.'s Library ed. Hazlitt 1875, II, ii, 306—387)²⁾ as 'The True Chronicle History of King Leir and his three daughters, Gonorill, Ragan, and Cordella. As it hath been diuers and sundry times lately acted. London, Printed by Simon Stafford for Iohn Wright, and are to bee sold at his shop at Christes Church dore, next Newgate-Market, 1605.'

No one who has had occasion to use Arber's Transcript can be unaware that the description of a book in the S.R. may differ considerably from the subsequent printed title. For example, Camden's 'Remaines concerning Britain' is entered Nov. 10, 1604 as 'A booke called *Reserches* of Brittain containinge the Inhabitants thereof, Their language, Christian names, Surnames. Impreses *Apothegmes &c*' (Arber III 275). It is therefore hardly worth while, perhaps, to remark on Leire's title, 'kinge of England', in the 1594 entry. Yet it somewhat favours the view that that entry refers to the same play as those of 1605, for in OP Leir,

¹⁾ OP was then acted, Fleay states, 'as an old play'. But it could not have been a very old play. Cf. p. 117.

²⁾ OP was first edited by Steevens in *Twenty of the Plays etc.*, 1766, vol. IV, and again in Nichols's *Six Old Plays, etc.*, 1779, vol. II.

though theoretically king of Britain, is actually king of England only. Cambria and Cornwall are under other kings, and Albany or Scotland is not brought into the play at all (cf. III § 26). — No one, I think, has expressed a definite belief in the existence of more than one pre-Shakespearian play of Leir, except Halliwell-Phillipps, who writes (Outlines etc., No. 217, ed. 1890, II 338): "There were at least two old plays on the subject in the dramatic repertory of the time, one of which was [OP] . . . , and another, now lost, that bore probably more affinity to Shakespeare's drama. The latter fact is gathered from an interesting entry in an inventory of theatrical apparel belonging to the Lord Admiral's Company in March, 1598—9, where mention is made of 'Kentes woden leage', that is, stocks." Ex pede Herculem, from a wooden leg another old play! Now, it is well enough for the Fool to call the stocks 'cruel garters' and 'wooden netherstocks' (KL, II, iv, 7; 10), but such figurative nomenclature would be quite out of place in this 'Enventary' of Henslowe's, a sober list of stage properties. And we must remember that a wooden leg would be quite a likely property. If Marlowe's Faustus was in the repertory of the Lord Admiral's company, one would be needed for the Doctor's trick on the Horse-courser. Henslowe was illiterate, and in such lists he calls a spade a spade, and a male nether-garment 'j payer of hosse'. It is most improbable that when he wrote down a 'woden leage', he meant anything but just that. This wooden leg, then, is a very weak prop for so great a burden. Halliwell-Phillipps cannot 'stand much upon that'.¹⁾

Most authorities are content to suppose that the play we possess is the play referred to in 1593 and 1594. Its style of composition, diction etc. certainly give it the

¹⁾ '*Faust*. No, faith; not much upon a wooden leg' (Marlowe, ed. Dyce, p. 129). — Henslowe's spelling is very wonderful. Can 'Kente' be his idea of the name of the popular comic actor and dancer, Kemp, otherwise Kempte; Kempt in the First Folio (DNB)?

appearance of having been written years before 1605. Wright understates the case in saying that the two plays 'may possibly by the same' (K. L., 1876, p. XIII). Their identity is highly probable (cf. *inf.* p. 117).

The suspicion of fraud cast upon Stafford by Malone, entertained by many later editors, and enlarged upon by Fleay, is based to a great extent upon a misapprehension. Fleay 'very forcibly argues', according to Adey ('Bankside' K. L., p. VII f.), that the old play styled a Chronicle in 1594 'could not, when printed . . . in May, 1605, have been entitled as it was a Tragical History unless for the purpose of palming it off as Shakespeare's Tragical History, then lately acted.' And Herford writes ('Eversley' K. L., p. 7) that the play entered S. R. 1594 was 'first printed in 1605, with a title-page calculated to identify it with the great tragedy then in the first splendour of its fame.' But, as we have just seen, the title-page styles the play a Chronicle History. Only in the S. R. is it called a Tragical History. To confine the deceptive title (if there is any guile in the word *Tragecall*) to the private papers of the Company of Stationers was a remarkably ineffectual attempt at a fraud upon the public. It is as if the conspirators tried to blow up King and Parliament by sinking their barrels of gunpowder in the Thames. But Fleay is not guilty of this simple confusion. He has "examined this question with special minuteness" (for some examples of which cf. *inf.* p. 117 f.). "Stafford wished to pass off the old play as Shakespeare's. Wright, however, had not the impudence to put Stafford's 'Tragical History' on his title-page, though he kept the 'lately acted', which was probably, as far as the older play is concerned, not true" (from Furness, p. 381 f.). This dark conspiracy was worthy of the year 1605. But if OP had not been lately acted, the man who had the impudence — it was Stafford, not Wright, who printed the book, and was probably responsible for its title-page — to expand the misstatement in the S. R. to the more persuasive 'As it hath

been diuers and sundry times lately acted' would surely not have hesitated to retain the word 'Tragecall' if it could be expected to increase the sale of the book, in which, however, not Stafford the printer, but Wright the publisher would be chiefly concerned.

If, as Arber writes, (but I wish I could see why) 'it is evident that *King Lear* (*sic*) was printed by S. Stafford before the 8th May, 1605, though not entered until it was assigned on that date' (III 289), Fleay's whole contention is absurd: the idea of deceiving the public must have come to Stafford a day after the fair. But in any case, Fleay on the one hand attaches to the different wordings of the two descriptions, S. R. and title-page, an importance which as we have seen (p. 95) is not justifiable; and on the other he fails to admit for the S. R. the possibility of a lax use of the word 'tragical', such as was prevalent to a much later date. The examples of this use given by Furness (p. 378) are quite convincing, but here may be added that in scene 7 of OP itself, Cordella in banishment relates to Gallia 'the tragick tale' of her unhappy youth; and that Collier (Sh.'s Library, 1843, II) calls OP 'the tragedy of King Leir.'

To be consistent, those who suspect Stafford of double-dealing should infer from the 'Chronicle History' on the title-page of the 1608 Quartos an endeavour on the part of Butter to palm off Shakespeare's Tragedy as something else. Fleay foresees this objection, and adds to the sentence quoted above, "Accordingly, when the real 'tragedy' was issued in 1608, Butter marks his edition as the genuine 'Dirty Dick' by putting 'Chronicle History' on its forehead; only in the Folio does the real name of 'Tragedy' appear." But here I give up. Furness regards the conjecture of fraud as 'gracious fooling, at the best', and one cannot but admire the moderation of the epithet. If, as Fleay pathetically admits, his metrical-test theories depend upon the validity of this conjecture, and are worthless unless Shakespeare wrote *King Lear* before May 8, 1605, one is sorry for his theories; but

the admission may serve as a gloss on the parable of the house built upon sand. The accusation against Stafford is baseless, and there is no reason to doubt that OP had been sundry and divers time lately acted before it was printed (cf. Furness, p. 378). The very fact that on applying for his license the printer described OP to the Wardens as a play 'lately acted' is to some extent a guarantee of the truth of that statement. It seems probable that Shakespeare's attention was drawn to the possibilities of the Leir-theme by the publication of OP (cf. S. Lee, *Life of Sh.*, p. 241).

(a) Sources of the story in OP. This question has never been carefully examined, but a number of critics record their impressions. Capell stated that the author 'has kept him close to the chronicles' (cf. 1821 *Variorum*, I 158); according to Delius he 'behandelt den Stoff nach der Darstellung des Chronisten' (K. L., 1854, p. V), but we do not learn what chronicles or which chronicler. Collier said his 'chief materials were evidently derived from Holinshed' (Sh., VII, 1843, p. 353) and the like opinion is expressed in the *Irving Shakespeare* (VI, 1889, p. 322), and elsewhere. Ward, translating Simrock (1870, II 228) says the author used either Hol. or Geoffrey (*Engl. Dram. Lit.*, 1899, II 176). R. Fischer thinks, 'welche Version der Learfabel ihm vorgelegen, wird sich allerdings kaum mit Bestimmtheit nachweisen lassen' (*Zur Kunstentwicklung d. engl. Tragödie*, 1893, p. 87), and Luick that 'die spezifische Lear-Fabel bereits so gefestigt war, daß man von einer eigentlichen Stoffauslese durch unseren unbekannten Dramatiker schwerlich sprechen kann' (*Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, 1898, p. 139).

It can be shown, however, with certainty and comparative ease, that the dramatist selected materials from the three most recent metrical versions of the story, Warner, MfM 87, and FQ. After elimination of all that these three sources supplied, there remains nothing which can suggest that he ever saw Holinshed's Chronicle, or Geoffrey.

I. From Warner comes: —

The fruitful idea of the daughters' attempt on Leir's life (cf. § 50 and III, § 23), which here forms the basis of four scenes (12, 15, 17, 19), and causes the introduction of a new character, 'the Messenger or Murderer' (cf. p. 113). — The heroine's name, Cordella (cf. III, § 2). — Her husband's title, the 'Gallian king.' Warner calls him 'a noble Gallian king'; OP, 'the young Gallian king' (Sc. 4; cf. Sc. 7: p. 327, l. 3)¹⁾, and hence Cordella 'the noble Gallian Queene' (Sc. 16: p. 344, l. 2) and the pair 'the noble King and Queene of Gallia' (Sc. 18: p. 347, l. 17). His country is called France as in MfM as well as Gallia, as in Warner.

His coming to Britain with the expedition (cf. III, § 20). Warner: 'The noble king, his sonne-in-law, transports an armie greate, Of forcie Gawles, possessing him of dispossessed seate.' OP, Sc. 26 and 28: For 'Gawles' cf. in Mumford's address to the soldiers, Sc. 28, 'Ye valiant race of Genouestan Gawles' (Warner, III, 16, st. 54: 'the Cenouesean (*sic*) Gawles'), 'Shew your selues to be right Gawles indeed.'

Leir's character, or the want of it (cf. III, § 21). His 'doting on his daughters three' (Warner), cf. Sc. 2, p. 311, l. 25 f.: 'of you three . . . on your loves he so extremely dotes'; and his attitude towards his unfilial daughters: he at once succumbs to ill-treatment, and wishes to die. Throughout the play from Sc. 10 to 24, he presents a really miserable spectacle, to which his piety (cf. RG) does not grant the relief the author intended. With the lines quoted on p. 90 cf. Sc. 10: p. 332, l. 15 ff.:

¹⁾ This clumsy method of reference cannot be helped. There is no division into Acts and Scenes. Page and line are given from Hazlitt's text. Fleay divides the play into 30 scenes. I count 32 with Tieck and R. Fischer.

Why do I over-live my selfe,¹⁾ to see
The course of nature quite reuerst in me?
Ah, gentle Death, if euer any wight
Did wish thy presence with a perfit zeale:
Then come, I pray thee, euen with all my heart,
And end my sorrowes with thy fatall dart. [*He weeps.*]

Leir's desire for death is frequently repeated; cf. Sc. 10: p. 331, l. 11; 14: 341, 1; 19: 365, 3 ff., 356, 17 f. and 358, 31 f.; 24: 370, 29. When Leir is kindly received by Cordella in France, Warner says, 'sorrowes more abound, For his vnkindly vsing her than for the others crime'; cf. Sc. 10: p. 333, l. 34:

Leir. Oh, how thy words add sorrowe to my soule
To thinke of my vnkindnesse to *Cordella*.

With the first line of the quotation on p. 90, cf. Sc. 14: p. 341 where Ragan foretells:

. . . ere't be long, his comming he shall -curse,
And truely say, he came from bad to worse.²⁾

And with the last, the anathema of Perillus on those who 'seeke his blood, whose blood did make them first' (Sc. 19: p. 355, l. 32). Perillus in his function of medium between author and audience, echoes Leir's warning in

¹⁾ The thought derives, through Cxt, EPB, FPB, from Wace, v. 1961 f.: 'Las mei' dist il, trop ai vesqu, Quant jo ai cel mal tens veü.' For this and the following note, cf. extract from Cxt on p. 90.

²⁾ Also due to Wace, v. 1948 f.: 'Caitif mei' dist il, 'mar i vinc Se vils fui la, plus vils sui ça.' Shakespeare puts a like prediction in the mouth of Kent, II, ii, 167:

Good king, that must approve the common saw,
Thou out of heaven's benediction comest
To the warm sun!

And cf. II, iv, 259:

Lear. Those wicked creatures yet do look well-favour'd,
When others are more wicked; not being the worst
Stands in some rank of praise. — [*To Gon.*] I'll go with thee.

chorus-like reflections. Cf. Warner: 'Bid none affie in friends, for say, his children wrought his wracke' with Sc. 8: p. 329, l. 10 f. and 24 f.:

Oh, whom should man trust in this wicked age,
When children thus against their parents rage?
Trust not alliance; but trust strangers rather,
Since daughters proue disloyall to the father.

And cf. Leir in Sc. 24: p. 370, l. 25 f., and p. 372, l. 25 ff.

Further, Warner, who by his contemporaries was accounted a refiner of the language (cf. Chalmers, p. 502) may have supplied some expressions, as *heyre indubitate*, p. 307, l. 25; Warner VIII, 38, st. 1 (3rd ed. 1592); or occasionally such a thought as (p. 320, l. 25 f.), 'Twere pity such rare beauty should be hid, Within the compasse of a Cloysters wall'. Cf. Warner II, 11, st. 17: 'It greeues that Natures paragon, in cloister, not in court, Should loose the beautie of her youth'.

II. From FQ: —

The intended equal division. Sc. 1: p. 308, l. 11 f., 20, and 23:

... resigning vp the Crowne from me
In equall dowry to my daughters three.
No more, nor lesse, but euen all alike
Both old and young shall haue alike for me.

I have shown in § 51 how in Eul. Hist., PV, and FQ, three independent abridgments of Geoffrey, the intended division comes to be looked upon as an equal one. But here the idea could not have originated in the same way, for the unequal triple division of the original (through MfM) is also considered, Skalliger the evil counsellor interposing with a suggestion (l. 18 f.) which Leir rejects,

To make them eche a Jointer more or lesse
As is their worth, to them that loue professe.

The resignation of the whole kingdom at once to the elder daughters and their husbands, which first occurs in FQ: 'But twixt the other twaine his kingdome whole did shaire.' Cf. Sc. 3: p. 316, l. 18 f.,

My Kingdome will I equally deuide
'Twixt thy two sisters to their royall dowre.

The way in which this division is effected. Cf. FQ, v. 258 ff.:

So wedded th'one to *Maglan* king of Scots,
And th'other to the king of *Cambria*,
And twixt them shayred his realme by equall lots,

with Sc. 6: p. 323, l. 10 ff.:

What resteth then, but that we consummate
The celebration of these nuptiall Rites?
My Kingdome I do equally deuide
Princes, drawe lots, and take your chaunce as falles
[*Then they draw lots.*]

It is as certain that this action of drawing lots was suggested by the word in FQ as that Spenser saw in the synonym for shares merely a rhyme for 'Scots'.

The title of Ragan's husband, 'the king of Cambria, otherwise peculiar to FQ (cf. § 51 and III, § 3). In OP he is also styled the Prince of Cambria, Cambrian Prince, or Cambrian king indifferently.

The beauty of all three daughters. Cf. FQ: 'three fair daughters, which were well uptrained In all that seemed fit for kingly seed'. In OP, Sc. 4, 'flying Fame' has brought to the Gallian king 'the wondrous prayse Of these three Nymphes', and not of Cordella only, as everywhere else. Mumford thinks, Sc. 30, 'Tis pitty two such good faces Should have so little grace between them'. And cf. Sc. 5: p. 320, l. 2, 14; Sc. 24: p. 373, l. 21 etc. Influence of FQ seems probable here, since the tendency is for jealous sisters to be plain. As to

their training, Leir states that under their recently deceased mother's 'gouernment they haue receuyed A perfit patterne of a vertuous life' (Sc. 1). Two of them, however, appear to have profited little.

Further cf. FQ: Cordeill's 'simple answere, wanting colours faire, To paint it forth', and Sc. 3: p. 315, l. 11,

Cor. I cannot paynt my duty forth in words.

III. From MfM: —

Skalliger's proposal of an unequal division according to professions of love. Cf. MfM, St. 7: 'minding her that lou'd him best to note, . . . Hee thought to guerdon most where fauour most he fand'.

Cordella's superiority in beauty and other qualities;¹⁾ her sisters' jealousy and their endeavour 'her wrecke to wage' by exciting the father's wrath at an 'answer answerlesse indeed'. MfM, St. 8:

What though I yongest were, yet men mee iudg'd more wise
Then either Gonerell, or Ragan more of age,
And fairer faire: wherefore my sisters did despise
My grace and giefts, and sought my wrecke to wage
(87; 75: my praise t'asswage)

Cf. OP, Sc. 2. p. 310, l. 1 ff., and Sc. 6: p. 321, l. 8 ff.,

Gon. I maruell, Ragan, how you can indure
To see that proud pert Peat, our youngest sister,
So sightly to account of vs, her elders,
As if we were no better than her self,
.
. she is so nice and so demure,
So sober, courteous, modest and precise,
That all the Courth hath worke ynough to do
To talke how she exceedyth me and you.

¹⁾ That she was the fairest is first explicitly stated by Wace (v. 1711: *La plus bele fu la puisnee*; v. 1844: *bele et gente*) and this attribute passes through the regular channel, FPB (with an addition: *Cordeille fu la plus bele & la mieult entecche*), EPB, and Cxt (*fayrest & best of condicions*) into MfM. The jealousy etc. is the product of Higgins's 'simple invention' (cf. p. 86).

Gon. Faith, sister, what moues you to beare her such good will?

Rag. In truth, I thinke, the same that moueth you;

Because she doth surpasse vs both in beauty.

Cf. also Sc. 3: p. 316, l. 26 f.; Sc. 6: p. 320, l. 31 ff.

Again with MfM 87, St. 12,

Thus much I sayd of nuptiall loues that ment,

Not minding once of hatred vile or ire:

And partly taxing them, for which intent

They set my fathers heart on wrathfull fire

"Shee neuer shall to any part aspire

"Of this my realme (quoth hee) *etc.*

(They, St. 10, 'by flattery faire' having 'won their father's heart') cf. Sc. 3, where after Cordella has given her simple answer, the sisters interpose (p. 315, l. 15 ff.):

Gon. Here is an answer answerlesse indeed:

Were you my daughter, I should scarcely brooke it

Rag. Dost thou not blush, proud Peacock as thou art,

To make our father such a slight reply?

Hereupon Leir upbraids her severely. Cordella replies:

Deare Father, do not so mistake my words

Nor my playne meaning be misconstrued

My tounge was neuer vsde to flattery.

and the sisters continue the attack:

Gon. You were not best to say I flatter: if you do,

My deeds shall show, I flatter not with you.

I loue my father better than thou canst

.

Rag.

I say, thou dost not wish thy father's good.

with the desired result. Leir is now stirred to a pitch of fury worthy of Tamburlaine (cf. p. 110) and cuts off Cordella's attempted deprecation with

Peace, bastard Impe, no issue of King *Leir*

I will not heare thee speake, *etc.*

Thus the violence of this God-fearing old man, who later proves himself a 'myrrour of mild patience' is made plausible to a certain extent. Cordella *solus* (sic), looking back upon this scene when Queen of Gallia, exclaims (Sc. 13),

Oh sisters! you are much to blame in this.
It was not he, but you that did me wrong.

and Leir by Sc. 10 has learnt to repent his unkindness to her

Whom causelesse [he] did dispossesse of all
Vpon th'vncind suggestions of her sisters.

St. 12 of MfM was rewritten for the 1587 edition; in the earlier edd. there is nothing of the sisters' 'attempt Cordella's wrecke to wage' (cf. the change in St. 8 above, p. 104) except a line in St. 15, stating that Leir 'kept by their intisment hatred still'. This makes it probable, and the following two points make it certain that the author of OP used MfM 87.

The help rendered by Leir's former subjects to the invaders.¹⁾ MfM 87, St. 24:

And of our *Britaynes* came to aide likewise his right
Full many subjects, good and stout that were:
By martiall feats, and force, by subjects sword and might,
The *British* kings were fayne to yeeld our right.

OP, Sc. 30, Gallia invites the citizens of Dover to submit to their lawful king. They reply to Leir (p. 382, l. 10 ff.),

Long haue you here bin lookt for, good my Lord

.

And now, my gracious Lord, you need not doubt,

¹⁾ Higgins is here anticipated only by Eul. Hist: Magna pars populi in adventu illorum eis favebat, et occurrebat ad inimicos suos superandos et debellandos. The first two lines were formerly (MfM 75):

We came to Britayne with our royal campe to fight:
And manly fought so long our enemies vanquished were.

But all the Country will yeeld presently,

 Weele presently send word to all our friends;
 When they haue notice, they will come apace.

And in the subsequent battle, Cornwall enters to exclaim
 (Sc. 31: p. 385, l. 18),

The day is lost, our friends do all reuolt,
 And ioyne against vs with the aduerse part.

Some vituperative terms applied to the cruel
 daughters, especially 'vipers'. Cf. MfM 87, St. 20.

What more despite could deuclish beasts deuise,
 What vipers vile could so their King despise,
 Or so vnkinde, so curst, so cruell bee?

with the following extracts from OP,

Sc. 9: p. 330, l. 35, *Skall of Gon.*: viperous woman

Sc. 19: p. 355, l. 32, *Perillus*: O viperous generation

Sc. 24: p. 376, l. 20, *Gallia*: this viperous sect

Sc. 30: p. 383, l. 22, *Gallia*: fell vipers as they are

Sc. 30: p. 384, l. 17, *Per. to Gon.*: thou monster, shame vnto
 thy sexe,
 Thou fiend in likenesse
 of a human creature

Sc. 30: p. 384, l. 20, *Leir to Rag.*: Out on thee, viper, scum,
 filthy Parricide,
 More odious to my sight
 then is a Toade.

Gonorill's insolence towards Leir. Geoffrey's *in-crepabat eum senem* passes from MW with the addition *delirum et mendicum*, to MfM, St. 21:

They cal'd him doting foole, all his requests debard,
 Demaunding if with life hee were not well content,

Cf. Sc. 8, Perillus of Gon.,

Yet shames she not in most opprobrious sort
To call him foole and doted to his face,

and Sc. 9, where Gon. complains to Skalliger of her 'doting father', and 'his old doting doltish withered wit', asking

Doth't not suffice that I him keepe of almes
Who is not able for to keepe himselfe.

In Sc. 10 in presence of Cornwall, Perillus and Nobles she calls him 'O vile olde wretch!'

Other slight hints. Gallia in disguise meeting Cordella in Sc. 7, urges her to show the cause of her sad laments since 'To vtter griefe, doth ease a heart o'er-charged', and she proceeds to tell 'the tragick tale' of her 'vnhappy youth.' Cf. Cordila in MfM, St. 2 and 5: 'No greater ease of heart then griefes to tell', 'I will recite my story tragicall ech word.' — The allusion in Sc. 23 (p. 368, l. 24) to 'despaire, which brings a thousand deathes' recalls Higgins's figure of Despayre; cf. MfM, St. 35, 38: 'Her clothes resembled thousand kinds of thrall, And pictures plaine of hastened deathes withall; ... she threwe her garments lap aside, Vnder the whiche a thousand thynges I saw with eyes, Both knives, sharp swordes', *etc.* The name Morgan is prominent in MfM, Gonerell's son (Marganus in Geoff. *etc.*) being the subject of the next legend; in OP it is given to Ragan's husband, Cambria, the 'Welshman' (p. 384, 386), the author no doubt recognising a well-known Welsh name.¹⁾ — The PV Answer of MfM 87 (cf. § 55) could not be utilised in Sc. 3, but is recalled in Sc. 16, Cordella to

¹⁾ Cf. the spiritualistic trick played by Edw. Kelly on 'Dr.' Dee, Elizabeth's Welsh astrologer, in which a prophecy is heard that a Welshman shall save England, and reign as King Morgan (Thornbury, *Sh.'s England*, 1856, II 104; DNB).

her husband (p. 344, l. 9 f.): 'Knowing you, which are more deare to me Then Country, kin, and all things els can be.' Gallia has remonstrated against her occupying her thoughts with her father, to his own detriment.

(b) Changes and additions. Other influence. This section can make no pretension to completeness, but it may contain something useful to a future editor, who must consult R. Fischer (p. 78 ff.) on the composition of the piece and its place in the development of English tragedy.

The opening scene seems modelled to some extent on Gorboduc (cf. Fischer, p. 83). Leir in council with his nobles requests their grave advice in the matter of settling the succession and marrying his daughters, who now that their mother is dead, are left 'like ship without a sterne'. He puts aside the proffered advice, as does Gorboduc, for his 'zeale is fixt', he is resolu'd. He bethinks him of a 'sudden stratagem', a trick by which to beguile Cordella into consenting to marry the rich king of Hibernia, whom she does not love. (Dislike of the proposed husband brings tribulation to many an Outcast Heroine). Thus a new and definite reason is given for the Love-test. Perillus dissuades in vain, and at the scene-end utters a warning of disastrous results, uniting the offices of Eubulus and the Chorus in the classic model.¹⁾ The influence of Gorboduc, however, is very slight; we have to remember the similarity of the king's design etc. in the original story of either play. OP is to be looked upon, with Fischer, as the offspring of the native stage.

¹⁾ Cf. Gorboduc ed. Toulmin-Smith, Heilbronn 1883, l. 70 'My lords whose grave advice'; l. 1601f. 'the people and the land, Which now remaine as ship without a sterne'; l. 411, *Gorb.* 'in one selfe purpose do I still abide'. There is a general resemblance in many lines of the two plays, as OP, Sc. 1: p. 308, l. 15, 'I censure thus; Your Majesty knowing well' and Gorb. l. 148, 'This do I thinke. Your maiestie doth know'; cf. OP, Sc. 1, p. 309, l. 14; Sc. 3: p. 313, l. 7 and Sc. 13: p. 338, l. 21f.:

Perillus and Skalliger may be the good and bad spirits of the Moralities, materialised.

Skalliger betrays the king's plan to the jealous sisters (Sc. 2), warning them that 'whose answer pleaseth him the best, They shall haue most vnto their marriages', though he cannot possibly know this, for Leir has rejected his proposal to measure dowries by professions of love. This is one of several inconcinnities in the structure of the play, but it affords a motive for the outrageous flattery¹⁾ in Sc. 3, where Leir's outburst, 'Peace, bastard Impe, no issue of King *Leir*' recalls Tamburlaine²⁾ in Pt. II; I, iii: 'Bastardly boy, sprung from some coward's loins, And not the issue of great Tamburlaine!' — Sc. 4, Gallia announces to his council his intention to sail to Britain, 'to see if flying fame Be not too prodigal in the wondrous prayse Of these three Nymphes'. In this scene Lloyd (Crit. Essays, 1892. p. 440)

'Of vs and ours, your gracious care, my Lord,'
 'Twixt childrens loue, and care of Common weale.'
 'For zeale, for instice, kindnesse, and for care
 'To God, subjects, me, and Common weale'.

with Gorboduc, l. 108, 205, 94f.:

'our wakeful care

'For you, for yours, and for our native lande.'
 ' your tender care of common weale.'
 'For me, for mine, for you, and for the state,
 'Whereof both I and you have charge and care.'

Influence of Gorboduc is only apparent in the parts of OP dealing with affairs of state.

¹⁾ Goneril at least is ignorant, as far as we know, of what hangs upon her answer, in all earlier versions, except RM. Cf. v. 2296 ff.: 'to Gonorylle: Doughter . . . How mykel woldest thou me love, Yyf thou were lady me above? — When swylk a word scheo herde nevene, She swor' *etc.* Possibly she has some idea in BS. Cf. III § 7.

²⁾ Leir would hardly hope that his deceased Queen's soul, 'possest of heauenly ioyes, Doth ride in triumph 'mongst the Cherubins' but for 2 Tamb. II, iv. Cf. particularly l. 26 ff.: 'The cherubins and holy seraphins . . . Use all their voices and their instruments, to entertain divine Zenocrate'. And cf. the line thrice repeated in 1 Tamb. II, v: 'And ride in triumph through Persepolis'.

reads 'some hints of the humour and position of Gratiano.' Lord Mumford, whose humour is bluntness, asks permission to accompany his king, and receives it with an admonition as to his conduct (cf. *Mer. of Ven.*, II, ii, 174 ff.): he is not, like Gratiano, to assume a modest bearing, for, Gallia says, 'To bind thee from a thing thou canst not leaue, Were but a meane to make thee seeke it more' (cf. *Gra.* I must go with you to Belmont. *Bass.* Why, then you must),¹) but to exercise care in maintaining the proposed disguise. Disguises are frequent in OP, and Italian influence through Gascoigne's 'Supposes' 1566, is evident.²) Mumford, like Eristato (cf. Gascoigne ed. Hazlitt, 1869, I 212: *The Supposes*, II, i) forgets to address his master in character (Sc. 7: p. 324, l, 8 ff.), and begs

For Gods sake, name your selfe some proper name.
King. Call me *Tresillus*; Ile call thee *Denapoll*
Mum. Might I be made the Monarch of the World,
 I could not hit upon these names, I sweare.

Cf. *The Supposes*, II, ii; p. 217: 'remember that you call me Philogano of Cathanea. — *Paquette*. Sure I shall never remember these outlandish words!'

¹) Cf. OP. Sc. 4: p. 317, l, 13 ff., If 'Venus stand auspicious to my vows . . . I will returne seyz'd of as rich a prize As Jason, when he wanne the golden fleece'. *Mer. of Ven.* I, i, 169 ff.:

her sunny locks
 Hang on her temples like a golden fleece;
 Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand;
 And many Jasons come in quest of her.

This is, I believe, Shakespeare's only direct allusion to the golden fleece. — Hence perhaps the 'quest of love' in K. L. I, i, 196. Cf. III, § 20, and for the possibility of another idea used in both *Mer. of Ven.* and K. L. cf. III, § 19, note 2.

²) This and other ideas in this section are due to Professor Brandl, who of course is not responsible for shortcomings in their setting out.

Sc. 5, by one of the curious chances frequent in the play, brings together, twenty miles from Troynovant, the Kings of Cornwall and Cambria, who compare letters from Leir bidding them haste to the wedding. They arrive in Sc. 6, and the kingdom is divided, Perillus making a final plea for Cordella. In Sc. 7 the pensive heroine meditates the Disguise and Menial Employment of the folk-tales, but the Love-sick Prince supervenes at once, disguised as a palmer, having apparently just landed, and takes her back to France. The dramatist has now got as far on with the story as Shakespeare gets in Act I, Sc. 1.

In Sc. 8, Perillus (on whom cf. further III, § 17) apparently in Cornwall, moralises on what has happened, and what will follow. Sc. 9 shows us Skalliger in Cornwall, like Hermon with Ferrex, giving Gonorill the evil counsel she hardly needs. At the end of the scene he remains to reveal himself as 'a villaine, that to curry fauour, Haue giuen the doughter counsell 'gainst the father', a sure sign that he was intended to appear no more. His post of 'serviceable villain' is taken later by the Messenger, who might well be Skalliger in disguise. There is the same suggestion of undue familiarity with Gonorill in Sc. 12 as in Sc. 3. The two parts were certainly written for the same actor. In Sc. 10 Leir suffers indignity at the hands of Gonorill; Perillus attempts to console him, and they determine to visit Ragan, who, Sc. 11, *solus*, congratulates herself on ruling her husband as she pleases, and on not having that 'cooling card', her father, with her. In Sc. 12 Cornwall, disturbed at Leir's disappearance, determines to send to Cambria; Gonorill intercepts his messenger, and bribes him to substitute her letter to Ragan for Cornwall's to Leir. Sc. 13, a monologue from Cordella. Sc. 14, Leir and Perillus arrive at Cambria's residence, wearied out, having come from Cornwall on foot; Ragan pretends to receive her father gladly (cf. *MfM*: 'she with ioy receiued him . . but') but makes known to the audience her true sentiments.

Sc. 15, the Messenger delivers his letter; and keeping his appointment with Ragan the next day, Sc. 17, is bribed to murder Leir and Perillus next morning 'ere the break of day', near a thicket to which Ragan sends them under the shallow pretext of meeting them there in disguise, for private conference. The time and place were perhaps suggested by a passage in Lodge's 'Euphues Shadow', 1592: 'Philamour wearyed with toyle, and attainted with sorrowe, entered a close thycket, and in the mydst of his meditations fell a sleepe. No sooner did the daye begin to discover, but certayne Robbers who were wonte to haunte those woodes espying Philamour brauely appointed, ganne soddainlye to assaile him (Complete Works, Hunterian Club, VII 71). Cf. Sc. 19: p. 349, l. 15ff.: Leir and Perillus are both 'so extreme heauy' that they can scarcely keep their eye-lids open. They sit down to read their prayerbooks, but presently *they fall both asleepe*. The 'Messenger, or murtherer' now appears, and soliloquises, 'Were it not a mad iest if two or three of my profession should meet me, and . . . perforce take my gold away from me!'

This murderer is the traditional 'shaghayrd' villain (Sc. 24: p. 374, l. 20), modelled closely on the 'messenger' and murderer in 'Edward II', except in that his attempt on Leir must fail. He is as resolute as Lightborn, and thinks as little of murdering a man (Sc. 15: p. 342, l. 30ff.); is not likely to relent if his victims 'speake fayre' (Sc. 17: p. 346, l. 33); and is to be murdered too when he has done the deed (p. 347, l. 1f.). All this, and the 'catlike dialogue he holds with the two helpless old men' (Sc. 19; cf. Herford, KL, p. 10) is Marlowe, but the line (p. 350, l. 17) 'Now could I stab them brauely, while they sleep', and the sinister dream which Leir relates on awaking, rather suggest the 2. Murderer and Clarence's dream in Richard III, I, iv. Further, Leir's argument (p. 356—7), 'Do but well consider . . . that they which would incense Thee for to be the Butcher of their father, When it is

done, for feare it should be knowne, Would make a meanes to rid thee from the world', recalls Clarence's plea (II, iv, 253f.);

O! sirs, consider, they that set you on
To do this deed, will hate you for the deed.

Cf. also p. 354, l. 21f.

For I am in true peace with all the world
Mes. You are the fitter for the King of heauen.¹⁾

and a line from Sc. 30, *Per.* to *Rag.*, 'to send us both to heauen, Where, as I thinke, you neuer meane to come', with the repartee in R. III, I, ii, 105ff., Anne:

O! he was gentle, mild and virtuous.
Glo. The better for the King of heaven that hath him.
Anne. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

And again the series of proffered oaths rejected as invalid by the interlocutor in this same scene of OP (p. 355, l. 7ff.) and in R III, IV, iv, 367 ff. The urging of the word 'hell' by opportune thunder and lightning breeds a kind of remorse in the *Messenger* (cf. p. 355, l. 14 ff.). Shall he relent or resolve (22 f.)? His conscience troubles him (26 f.) but he will not crack his credit with two Queens (24), and the 'bagge of money' balances with conscience, until the emphasis of a second clap of thunder on 'hell' (p. 358, l. 10) gives effect to the pleas of Leir and Perillus for each other's life.²⁾

¹⁾ 'The King of Heauen' occurs also Sc. 15: p. 341, l. 13 and Sc. 16: p. 345, l. 39.

²⁾ Herewith cf. 2. *Murd.* in R. III, I, iv, 100 ff. No one, after comparison, would dream of deriving the longdrawn dulness of OP from the brilliance of Shakespeare's dialogue. But I am inclined to think that Shakespeare had met with OP before he wrote R. III. — Cf. further the first two lines of OP, 'Thus to our grieve the obsequies performed, Of our (too late) deceast and dearest Queen' with R. III, III, i, 98 f., *Prince*. 'Ay, brother, to our grief, as it is yours. Too late he died, that might have kept that title.' 'Too late' in this unusual sense of 'too recently' occurs only once else in Shakespeare, in 3 H VI, II, v, 93.

Now of course there is no returning to Gonorill (cf. FQ) but Perillus proposes going to France, to Cordella, though we are not told how Leir knows (p. 353, l. 32) she has become Queen of France. The letter inviting Leir to France (Sc. 16) has not been delivered either in Cornwall (Sc. 18, cf. Sc. 20) or in Cambria (Sc. 22) where Ragan infringes 'the law of Armes' by striking the Gallian ambassador. In Sc. 21 Gallia, Cordella, and Mumford plan to 'go in progresse' to the sea-side, in disguise. Sc. 23, Leir and Perillus, having no money to pay their passage, exchange garments with the mariners. This mariner-disguise, with the presentation of Leir and Perillus, from Sc. 14, not as king and vassal, but as close friends, each ready to die to save the other's life, and feeling his comrade's physical distress more keenly than his own (Sc. 14, 19, 23, 24) — suggests the influence of the popular play by R. Edwardes († 1566) of 'Damon and Pythias.' The relation of friendship is strongly emphasised: Leir calls Perillus not only the 'truest friend that euer man possest' (Sc. 19), 'peerlesse' (Sc. 24), 'kind' and 'kindest friend' repeatedly, but also (Sc. 19: p. 353, l. 13) 'my Damion' by which probably Damon is meant, since there is no reason here for an assumed name like Kent's Caius.¹⁾ Sc. 24, the two old men in Gallia, faint with hunger.

¹⁾ Cf. Dodsley-Hazlitt, IV 22: *Here entereth Damon & Pythias like mariners*; p. 58, Damon is taken for a spy: Leir congratulates himself on the exchange, 'For by this meanes we may escape unknown. The rough jests with which Cordella and Gallia belabour Mumford in Sc. 21, on the cut of his breeches, followed by a choice allusion to riding in a cart (to Tyburn), are much better placed in the mouth of Grim the collier (p. 71, 73). Here too (p. 80) is a reference to 'razors of Palermo' which in OP Fleay curiously regards as a sign of Lodge's authorship (cf. p. 118 f.). Little weight can be laid on the recurrence of an expression which though soon out of fashion was common enough in early Elizabethan literature (cf. Hazlitt, ib. p. 80; Nashe, ed. Grosart III 12). As cumulative evidence it is worth as much and as little as the fact that Will and Jack, names of two other characters in D. and P., are the names assumed by Gallia and Mumford in OP, Sc. 7.

Perillus *strips vp his arme*, begging Leir to 'feed on this fleshe' — 'Ile smile for ioy to see you suck my blood.' This idea is taken no doubt from Lodge's 'Rosalynde', 1590, where Adam Spencer proposes to 'cut his veynes' and let Rosader relieve his fainting spirits with the warm blood.¹⁾ Then as Rosader, ranging the woods in search of food, comes upon Gerismond and his followers at a meal, Perillus soon perceives 'a banquet and men and women!', the royal picnic-party. Follows the gradual recognition and reconciliation, a scene which the poet Campbell 'could scarcely read with dry syes' (Furness, p. 384). Gallia vows vengeance on 'this viperous sect.' Sc. 25 is a striking monologue from Ragan²⁾. Sc. 26, the army is ready to sail to Britain. Speeches to the soldiers by Gallia and Mumford. This and the next, a humorous scene of drunken watchmen, Tieck thought especially Shakespearian. There is at least a good deal of 'Bacon' in Sc. 27. The night assault on Dover, Sc. 28, 29, is staged much like that on Orleans in 1 H VI, II, i. Sc. 30, Leir receives the submission of 'the chiefe of the towne.' They hear 'the aduerse Drum approch' and the opposing army enters. After mutual vituperation from the leaders, *Exeunt both armyes*. Sc. 31, the battle. Sc. 32, the victors return thanks, Leir's speech resembling that of Richmond in the 'True Tragedie' of R. III (ed. Field, p. 66 f). The

¹⁾ Cf. Simrock. — The incident might doubtless be traced from Lodge back to Geoffrey of Monmouth, XII, 4: King Cadwallo, wrecked on an island, and lying sick, longs for game. Brian scours the island with bow and arrows in vain. Fearing lest his uncle should die, Brian cuts out a piece of his thigh, roasts it, and serves it to the king as venison. Cf. Wace, 14,656 ff.

²⁾ Some lines of this monologue are quoted later, III, § 23. The following are rather suggestive of Lady Macbeth: —

O God, that I had bin but made a man,
Or that my strength were equal with my will!
These foolish men are nothing but meere pity,
And melt as butter doth against the Sun.
Why should they haue pre-eminence ouer vs,
Since we are creatures of more braue resolute?

wicked sons and daughters have run away to save their lives, and the play ends with a hint that Cordella and her husband will shortly return to France, but with no allusion to her subsequent misfortunes.

(c) Date and authorship. OP must have been written not earlier than 1590 (cf. p. 91) and though there is no absolute proof that this was the play performed in 1593 or 1594 (cf. p. 94) and entered SR. 1594, there is the greatest probability that there was but one old play of *Leir*, and that OP, which students of the growth of the English drama like Ward and Fischer confidently date c. 1593. If the apparent traces of OP in *R. III* and *Mer. Ven.* (cf. p. 111, 113f.) are not illusory, Sh. must have become acquainted with OP shortly after its production (*R. III* is dated variously from 1593 to 1597, and *M. V.* from 1594 and 1597. Cf. Stokes, p. 172. 1594 has the best support for *R. III*, and *M. V.* was probably written in 1594 and revised later. Cf. Lee, p. 69). Fleay's date for OP (*Drama* 1891 II 52), Sc. 1—10, 1588; Sc. 11—30, 1589, is impossible.

Tieck thought OP an early work of Sh.'s. Malone ascribed it to Kyd, an opinion which Boas and Schick do not attempt to refute. Fleay 'hedges' considerably, assigning it to Marlowe and Lodge, Kyd and Lodge (*Dr.* II 52), Peele and Lodge, and Greene and Lodge (*Chron. Hist. of London Stage*, 1890, p. 90, 400). By such careful bookmaking one stands a fair chance of backing the winner, if at any time it should be made probable that a known dramatist had a hand in OP. The only reasons Fleay advances for dividing the play into two parts are that while Sc. 11—30 are 'clearly by Lodge', the earlier part 'containing Skaliſger is certainly by another hand who in Sc. 7, 10 makes *Leir* dissyllabic and in Sc. 1 writes *Brittanye* (cf. *Brittaine*, Sc. 21, 24).' *Leir* is dissyllabic four times in Sc. 1—10, but it is also monosyllabic in Sc. 1—10, six times. In the supposed later part it occurs four times only, as a monosyllable. The author of OP follows Warner or MfM just as occasion requires (cf. III § 2).

The same metrical reasons account for Brittaneye and Brittain. Cf. Drayton's *Sirena*, St. 8, Brittany for Britain to rhyme with 'fit any.' Both forms occur in *The Birth of Merlin*, generally, as at III, iii, 29, Britain, but at III, iii, 35 and once in IV, iv, Britany. Brittany stands for Britain also in *Locrine*, I, iii, i; V, i, 5. As to Skalliger, the action passes from Gonorill's court to Cambria, France, Dover, and the plot requires another type of villain, a shaghaired Murderer, with a ready flow of Billingsgate. Skalliger bids us a conscious farewell in Sc. 9, declaring himself 'a villaine' (cf. p. 112). There are a hundred signs in diction, rhyme, tendency, knowledge of the fable etc. that OP is the work of one man throughout, but the *onus probandi* rests with Fleay. The evidence of Lodge's authorship is entirely fallacious. Fleay relies altogether on 'coincidences of expression with his undoubted works too numerous to quote', and mentions two, presumably the most striking (Dr. II, 49): — 'I call attention to two phrases especially . . . , the prosaic medical "cooling card" (Sc. 11) and the "razors of Palermo" (Sc. 12) as characteristic of Lodge, who uses them not once or twice, like other men, but persistently in his works.' I cannot see the force of 'prosaic', since 'it is as a lyric poet that Lodge is best worthy of remembrance' (DNB), but 'medical' is very specious. Lodge to be sure was M. D. But on the one hand 'cooling card' has nothing to do with medicine, but is 'apparently a term of some unknown game' in use long before Lodge (there is an earlier instance than is given in the NED, in *Misogonus*, 1560, III, ii, 23: 'Heavy newes for you, I can tell you, of a cowlinge carde, It will make yow plucke in your hornes'); and on the other hand Lodge began the study of medicine after 1596 (DNB). I have read through fifteen publications of Lodge's works, to 1596, in the Hunterian Club edition, keeping a look-out for these two expressions among other things, but as I do not possess the 'trained eye' of the cryptogram-finders I have to conclude either that Lodge

met the Heathen Chinees when he was in America, or that Fleay's acquaintance with Lodge is limited to *Rosalynde* and *The Wounds of Civil War*. For 'cooling card' I found only in those two works (IV 18 and X 44). The 'Razors of Palermo' are concealed in the same disquieting manner, becoming visible only once, in the play by Greene and Lodge (cf. p. 115, note). Fleay's solitary argument for Marlowe or an imitator in Sc. 1—10 is the line 'She'll lay her husband's benefice on her back', in Sc. 6, with which he compares Ed. II, I, iv, 406 and 2 H. VI, I, iii, 83. If one swallow is to make summer like this we must say that *Euphues and his England* (ed. Arber, p. 268), the Inedited Tracts, *The Seruingman's Comfort*, 1598 (p. 154, 156) and *The Courtier and the Countryman*, 1618 (p. 183), published by Hazlitt, 1868, as well as the Wise Speech of a nobleman under Henry VIII (Camden's Remaines, 1629, p. 244) were all by Marlowe or his imitators (cf. also the old R. II in Sh.-Jahrb. XXXV, p. 53).

Lodge seems to me a peculiarly unhappy guess. Lodge could not have passed by the pastoral scene (Sc. 24, beginning) without at least a madrigal (cf. Marius in the ruins of Carthage); nor have countenanced the ribaldry in Sc. 15, 21, cf. Sc. 5, 7, in which Cordella takes her share, active (Sc. 21) or passive (Sc. 7), unless he was much changed from that Lodge who wished to have written 'over your Theators: Nil dictu foedum visuque, haec limina tangent' and denounced the 'filthie speaking' and 'Scurillitie' of the 'Plaier deuil' (Wits Miserie, 1596, Works XV 46). Nor could Lodge have retained the absurdly unsuitable name of the maker of the brazen bull for the wise and faithful councillor of Leir (cf. Alarum against Usurers, 1584, I 51). Lodge also knew who Skaliger was (XV 45); the author of OP apparently did not. There are, it is true, 'coincidences of expression . . . too numerous to mention', but they would only help to show what there is better evidence for, cf. p. 113, 116, that the unknown dramatist had read some Lodge.

The author of OP must, as far as I can see, remain anonymous. There are some 12 or 14 legal expressions, including *fact* (Sc. 12, 25) in the common sense of criminal deed (which we cannot consider with Boas, note on Sp. Tr. III, iv, 24; III, i, 81, characteristic of Kyd). Classical allusions are very few (perhaps 10 in the whole play) and are distributed without distinction of persons. The author was not well up in the British history (cf. III § 26) or Cambria's servant would not wish for 'old *Daedalus* waxen wings' to fly to Troynovant, with the recent example of Bladud's calamitous attempt before him. He was not prejudiced in favour of Welshmen (cf. Sc. 30: p. 384, l. 4; 386, l. 1), and regarded 'Puritan' as a synonym for 'dissembling hypocrite' (Sc. 30: p. 384, l. 13), a not uncommon view (cf. *Albion's England* IX, 53, St. 21; 'calophantick puritaines', St. 22 'these hypocrites'; *The Time's Whistle*, 1615, EETS, l. 201, 218, 745: 'that pure seeming sect', the Puritans, 'seeming saints & yet incarnat devils'). The didactic tone, the piety of Cordella and Leir, and the readiness with which Leir and others quote Scripture would almost seem to indicate a clergyman, but that Gon.'s coarse wit (Sc. 6: p. 321, l. 19) is directed against 'Parsons'. Perhaps it was by way of a compliment to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, (1563—1600), popular among the poets, a great fighter, rival of Essex in the queen's favour, up to 1591 constantly visiting the English contingent in the Low Countries, who in 1593 'stole over with Sir J. Norris into the action of Brittany which was then a hot & actiue warre', succeeded to the title in 1594 (DNB) — that the Gallian king's confidant, the comic hero on whom Cordella sharpens her wit in Sc. 21, who does all the fighting, chasing Cornwall and Cambria away, Lord Mumford (Mountfort), declares (Sc. 4): 'I am kin to the Blunts, and, I think, the bluntest of all my kindred; therefore if I bee too blunt with you, thank your selfe for praying me to be so'. The name Blount was then as now homophonous with blunt. Cf. Marlowe's

address to Blount the bookseller in *The First book of Lucan*, 1600: 'Blunt, I purpose to be blount with you'.

I can gain no further clue to the personality of the author of OP.

54. George Owen **Harry**, a Welsh antiquary, rector of Whitchurch in Pembrokeshire, was the author of 'The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch James with his lineall descent from Noah, by diuers direct lynes to Brutus, first Inhabiter of this Ile of Brittain . . .' London, Imprinted by Simon Stafford, for Thomas Salisbury, 1604. (Cf. DNB on Harry, but correct by later article on George Owen). On p. 8, following a Welsh translation of Geoffrey, he relates how *Lhyr* the sonne of *Bledhud* . . builded the City of *Caerlhyr* on the Riuer of Soram (cf. sup. p. 40) . . . and in his life time deuided the whole kingdome betwene them both, for the loue he bare vnto them, contenting himselfe with a competent maintenance at their hands but shortly after, he by his sonnes in law, *Magland* & *Henwyn* was put besides all, & driuen to extreme misery: but . . . slue them both, and then reigned two yeres: he raigned in the whole forty yeres, and then died, and was buried at *Caerlhyr*'. Harry evidently worked with Holinshed before him. This is shown by 'maintenance', 'misery', the slaying of the dukes, and the length of Leir's reign; cf. Hol. 'by the space of two (Fab., .iii.; Geoff., tertio post anno) yeeres, and then died, fortie yeeres after he first began to reigne'.

55. **Camden's** Anecdote of Ina, In his 'Remaines concerning Britain', 1605, (entered SR. Nov. 10, 1604) Camden relates the Love-test of the Wessex king Ina and his three daughters. This, Percy thought, 'if the thing really happened, probably was the real origin'¹⁾ of the Leir-story, although Camden gives nothing more than Question and Answers. That the thing should really happen is asking too much. Enough is known of Ina for the DNB to give him a life

¹⁾ Cf. Sh. ed. Johnson and Steevens, 1785, IX 383.

of several columns, in which his wife, sisters, and brother-in-law are mentioned, but no children. The question is, when was the Love-test first told of Ina?

In this paragraph of Camden's it is difficult to make out where the speech ends and the text of the narrative begins. It is generally punctuated as follows:

Ina, King of West Saxons, had three daughters, of whom, upon a time he demanded whether they did love him, and so would do during their lives, above all others; the two elder sware deeply they would; the youngest, but the wisest, told her Father [flatly, ed. 1629] without flattery, "That albeit she did love, honour and reverence him, and so would whilst she lived, as much as nature and daughterly duty at the uttermost could expect, yet she did think that one day it would come to pass that she should affect another more fervently", meaning her Husband, "when she was [were, ed. 1629] married, who, being made one flesh with her, as God by commandment had told, and nature had taught her, she was to cleave fast to, forsaking Father and Mother, kiffe and kin." (Anonymus) One referreth this to the Daughters of King Leir. (Camden's *Remaines*, L. 1870, p. 254f.).

The 4th ed., 1629, makes no attempt to show how much exactly the youngest daughter said, beyond printing the whole passage from *That albeit* to *and kinne* in Italics. Herein it agrees presumably with the 1605 edition, which I have not seen. But 'meaning her husband' is evidently a parenthesis. If not, why the air of mystery about 'another'? And 'meaning her husband when she were married' is strangely tautological. On the other hand if with the 1870 editor we suppose the speech to run on from 'fervently' to 'when', it reads curiously still, for the natural antecedent to 'who' is 'Husband'. Taken either way, the passage cannot be turned into direct speech as it stands. The reason of this is clear when we place beside Camden the Latin of PV:

Minima . . . cui natura praecox ingenium dederat, interrogata, an parentem multum diligeret: respondit, se patrem ferre in oculis, semperque laturam, licet mox contingeret, ut quemquam alium (de

marito intelligebat) ardentius amaret. Quo responso, tametsi sapientiae pleno, Leyrus indignatus

This then was how 'the thing really happened'. Camden found in PV a fine specimen for his collection of 'Grave Speeches and witty Apothegms of worthy Personages of this Realm in former times'. But it was there told of a personage in that fabulous period on which there was no better authority than Geoffrey, whose untruthfulness Camden repeatedly censures (cf. *Britannia*, ed. 1695, Pref., p. 5, 7, 38, 64, 162; and his opinion on the building of Leicester, sup. p. 7);¹⁾ and Camden began his series of Wise Speeches, 'set in order of time', 'with the ancient British prince called by the Romans Caratacus.' He therefore wrote up the extract from PV, adding the Scriptural passage which it readily calls to mind (Genesis, II, 24), and coolly transferred it to a daughter of Ina, King of the West Saxons. He chose Ina perhaps on account of that king's renowned piety. Camden has been suspected of the interpolation in Asser regarding the foundation of Oxford University by King Alfred, but his character for truthfulness is said to stand too high to be impeached on imperfect evidence (cf. DNB). Here, however, he was clearly guilty of a small literary fraud. The final remark shows that he had not forgotten the source of this Wise Speech, although he had begun collecting such things twenty years before the book was published (cf. 1870 ed., p. 248). He cites 'Polydorus' a few pages later (p. 259), but 'Anonymus' stands for Camden. It is of course a very small matter, for the little book, 'the rude rubble and outcast rubbish of a greater and more serious work', did not pretend to scientific value. And moreover Camden no doubt knew that the answer in PV differed entirely from that in Geoffrey, and was no less apocryphal told of Cordilla than of Ina's daughter.

¹⁾ Adee, *Bankside* K. L., p. XLIII, is entirely mistaken in his assertion that 'the story of Lear also appears in Camden's *Britannia*'.

There is nothing whatever but this spurious 17th century anecdote to connect Lear with Ina or Wessex, and when we remember that the scene of Lear's nocturnal wanderings, the vague neighbourhood of Gloucester's 'house' was first called 'A Heath' by Rowe (1709), we see that the probability of the 'Egdon Heath' of the Wessex novels having once witnessed Lear's agony, could hardly be less, though it is undoubtedly pleasant to put facts aside and dream that it was so.¹⁾

In this § may be placed, for convenience of reference, St. 11 and St. 12, l. 1 of MfM 87, re-written with the help of PV, the question being altered as in Camden to match the answer:

But not content with this, hee asked me likewise
If I did not him loue and honour well.
No cause (quoth I) there is I should your grace despise:
For nature so doth binde and duty mee compell,
To loue you, as I ought my father well.
Yet shortly I may chaunce if Fortune will,
To finde in heart to beare another more good will.

Thus much I sayd of nuptiall loues that meant.

56. **Valerius Herberger** (1562—1627), evangelical pastor in his native town, Fraustadt, in his 'Sirachs hohe Weisheit und Sitten-Schule, in XCVII Predigten deutlich erkläret', Leipzig, s. a., mentions the case of the 'guten Vater Leyr in Engeland' in his first sermon on Chap. XII, (p. 231, col. 2) and applies the proverb:

Wer seinen Kindern giebt das Brodt,
Und leydet selber Hungers-Noth,
Den soll man mit Keulen schlagen todt.

Cf. sup. p. 22. He tells the story of 'König Lyer in Engeland' again at greater length, p. 484, col. 1., giving Nauclerus and Polydorus as his authorities. But neither

¹⁾ Cf. Preface to *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 5th ed. 1892; Preface to *The Return of the Native*, 1895; and *Wessex Tales*, 1893, p. 55.

Nauch. nor PV gives the names of the elder daughters, here 'Condri' and 'Regina.' It is chiefly from PV: 'er fragte sie auf eine Zeit alle drey: Wie lieb sie ihn hätten? Die beyden Aeltesten kunten den Fuchsschwanz streichen, und sprachen: Lieber als unser eigen Hertz. Die Jüngste, Cordilla, sagte: So lieb, als einen hertzlieben Vater, doch so lieb, daß ich mit der Zeit meinen Bräutigam könne lieber haben.' 'Lyer' gives away all his land as in FQ, OP, Harry. I have not learnt the exact date of this version.

57. **The Ballad.** The great question with the Ballad is whether it originated before or after the Tragedy. Lear's madness and the circumstances of his death satisfactorily prove dependence one way or the other to all commentators with one exception. With him we must first deal.

Eidam (Die Sage von König Lear, p. 10f.) thinks that critics have read into the expression 'frantick mad' in l. 135 of the Ballad, a meaning of actual insanity which it does not contain, any more than does the same expression in the ballad of Gernutus the Jew. Eidam quotes the parallel passages for comparison, in the following remarkable fashion. From the one ballad:

Gernutus now *waxt franticke mad*
And wotes not what to say.

And from the other:

And calling to remembrance then
His youngest daughter's words,
.
.
.
But doubting to repair to her,
Whom he had banish'd so,
Grew frantick made etc.

And then writes: 'Es muß hier zunächst auffallen, daß außer den citierten Worten nichts in der Ballade vorkommt, was auf wirklichen Wahnsinn schließen ließe.'

This seems to me to be a miscalculation. What really should first strike anyone familiar with the Ballad who has

read Eidam's dissertation is that this is the only quotation among some dozens perhaps in which the writer breaks off an unfinished line with an *etc.*, as though the following words had absolutely no bearing on the point in question; whereas, as a matter of fact, it is precisely the next line and a half that most strongly lead us to infer actual madness. The completed sentence reads:

Grew frantick mad, *for in his mind*
He bore the wounds of woe.

These words vividly recall K. L. IV, vi, 190, 'Let me have surgeons, I am cut to the brains', which is, Cowden Clarke says, 'one of the most powerfully yet briefly expressed utterances of mingled bodily pain and consciousness of mental infirmity ever penned', and 'conveys the impression of wounded writhing within the head, that touches us with the deepest sympathy.' (Balzac did not omit to utilise this utterance in his *Lear*, *Le père Goriot*. Cf. *Oeuvres complètes*, P. 1896, IV 229: — 'Je souffre horriblement, mon Dieu! Les médecins! Les médecins! Si l'on m'ouvrait la tête, je souffrirais moins.') And they undoubtedly show the ballad-maker's intention to represent Lear as really driven mad. Robbed of its context, the description in the next stanza of the old king rending his milk-white locks (cf. III, i, 7, Q₁: 'tears his white hair') and bestaining his cheeks with blood, may indeed, as Eidam says, express only intense grief, but the complete passage has always seemed to commentators an attempt to depict actual insanity, and it will continue to do so, for Eidam only arrives at his novel conclusion by resolutely disregarding the evidence.

Besides his madness, the manner of Lear's death is peculiar to the Ballad and Shakespeare. L. 173—176 of the former accurately reproduce the picture in K. L., V, iii, 306—312, which differs utterly from all other versions. So that, as Mrs. Lennox wrote, Shakespeare's copying the ballad

cannot be doubted, if indeed it be true that it was written before that tragedy.

For the priority of the ballad stand the anonymous editor of *A Collection of Old Ballads*, 3 vols., L. 1723—1725, in which the Lear-ballad was first brought back to public notice; Johnson, Eschenburg,¹⁾ Voss,²⁾ Skottowe,³⁾ and Eidam (p. 12). The first of these wrote (II, 12): — ‘I cannot be certain directly to the Time when this Ballad was written, but that it was some Years before the Play of Shakespear, appears from several Circumstances which to mention would swell my Introduction too far beyond its usual Length’ — thus advancing nothing in support of his opinion. And in fact the only argument of weight on this side is that of Johnson, with whom the rest concur, Skottowe alone adding some slight considerations which are easily dealt with. Johnson wrote: — ‘My reason for believing that the play was posterior to the ballad . . . is, that the ballad has nothing of Shakespeare’s nocturnal tempest, which is too striking to have been omitted, and that it follows the chronicle; it has the rudiments of the play, but none of its amplifications; it first hinted Lear’s madness, but did not array it in circumstances. The writer of the ballad added something to the history, which is a proof that he would have added more if it had occurred to his mind, and more must have occurred if he had seen Shakespeare’ (Furness, p. 402).

The weight of opinion is on the other side. Among those who have pronounced for the priority of the play are Ritson, Collier, Simrock, Delius, Halliwell-Phillipps, Elze, Von Friesen, Furness. Some of their arguments, based on the current text of the Ballad, prove to be worthless, e. g., that of Collier, that although the ballad ‘employs the older

¹⁾ Shakespeare’s Schauspiele, Zürich 1777, XI, 559.

²⁾ „ „ Lpz. 1819, III 618.

³⁾ Life of Shakespeare, L. 1824, II 96 ff.

name of some of the characters, it adopts that of Cordelia.' In the original text in the *Golden Garland*, 3rd ed., 1620, to which my attention was drawn by the notice in Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines*,¹⁾ this name is not Cordelia, but Cordela. Further, if Collier and Simrock had known the *terminus ad quem* to be as early as 1620, they would not have rejected the ballad on account of its 'language'²⁾ and 'more modern style of composition'³⁾ or 'teils wegen des modernen Tons dieses geistlosen Machwerks.'⁴⁾ It would indeed require a remarkable literary *flair* to date a ballad between 1605 and 1620 merely from general evidence of language and style.

For their blunder these two critics have to thank Percy, whose introductory remarks in the *Reliques* (Ser. I, Bk. II, xv) are most misleading. He says 'there is nothing to assist us in determining the date of the ballad but what little evidence arises from within; this the reader must weigh, and judge for himself'; he states that his text is given from an ancient copy in the *Golden Garland*, but omits to give the date of that book, and in reality gives not the *Golden Garland* text, but mainly that of the 1723 *Collection*, with its modern spelling, its normalised names in part, and most of its would-be corrections, which are in no case necessary or an improvement, but frequently the reverse. Mrs. Lennox took her text (Sh. Illustrated, L. 1754, III 303ff.) from the 1723 *Collection*. Child, strange to say, was content to collate the 1723 text with Percy (English and Scottish Ballads, 1864, VII 276ff.). What exactly were the changes made may be seen from the original text, here first reprinted without alteration from the British Museum copy of 'The Golden Garland of Princely pleasures and delicate Delights . . . The third time imprinted, enlarged and corrected by Rich. Johnson . . . London.. 1620', b. l.,

¹⁾ No. 216; ed. 1890, II 338.

²⁾ Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry, 1831, III 76.

³⁾ Works of Sh., 1843, VII 353.

⁴⁾ Quellen des Sh., 1870, II 228.

without pagination. The Lear-ballad is the first in the book. The variants here given from the 1723 Collection (marked A), Mrs. Lennox (L) and Percy (P), show that L followed A, and that P while reprinting A or L, probably L, who is quoted in his remarks, did indeed have the Golden Garland text as well, from the restored readings *elder* for *eldest* (l. 49), *pompal* for *pompous* (53), *Ragan* for *Regan* (77, 110) *Gonorell* for *Gonoril*, *Gonorill* (93, 117), *heard* for *hears* (98); but that he otherwise made no use of it, allowing most of A's inept alterations to stand, and in some cases substituting emendations of his own (18, 76, 157). These variants do not include those of spelling merely, except in names; nor of punctuation except in l. 18. A substituted contemporary orthography; P brought one or two words up to date, as *died* for *dy'd* in AL, l. 170. A and L capitalise all nouns, P only proper names. I have numbered the lines as in P; have not retained the long s's of the b. l. text; and have corrected one obvious misprint, 'canselesse' in l. 59. Italics represent Roman type.

Of the corrupt readings that have passed current in all reprints since 1723, those in l. 5, 18, 78, 132, 181 are particularly bad. I need not further point out what a different appearance the ballad presents in its earlier form, nor how imperfect was the evidence by which Percy's readers were to 'judge for themselves'.

A Lamentable Song of the death of King *Leare*
and his three *Daughters*

To the tune of, When flying Fame.

King *Leare*¹⁾ once ruled in this Land
with princely power and peace
And had all things with hearts content,
that might his ioyes encrease.
Amongst those guifts²⁾ that nature gaue,
three daughters faire had he,
So princely séeming beautifull
as fayrer could not be.

¹⁾ AP: Leir L: Lear ²⁾ ALP: things

So on a time it pleasd the King,
 a question thus to mooue, [10]
 Which of his daughters to his grace,
 could shew the dearest loue:
 For to my age you bring' content,
 (quoth he) then let me heare,
 Which of you thrée in plighted troth [15]
 the kindest will appeare.

p. 2] To whom the eldest thus began,
 deare father mine (quoth she)¹⁾
 Before your face to doe you good,
 my blood shall tendred²⁾ be. [20]
 And for your sake my bleeding heart,
 shall heere be cut in twaine,
 Ere that I see your reuerent age:
 the smallest grieve sustaine.

And so will I the second said, [25]
 deare fater, for your sake,
 The worst of all extremities,
 ile gently vndertake.
 And serue your highnesse night and day,
 with diligence and loue: [30]
 That sweet content and quietnesse,
 discomforts may remoue.

In doing so you glad my soule,
 the aged King replied.
 But what sayst thou my yongest Girle, [35]
 How is thy loue allyed.
 My loue quoth yong *Cordela*³⁾ then
 which to your grace I owe,
 Shall be the duty of a childe,
 and that is all ile shew. [40]

p. 3] And wilt thou shew no more (quoth he)
 then doth thy duty binde:
 I well perceiue thy loue is small,
 when as no more I finde.

¹⁾ AL: Dear Father mind, quoth she, P: Dear Father, mind, quoth she, ²⁾ A: rendred LP: render'd ³⁾ ALP throughout: Cordelia

Hence forth I banish thee my Court [45]
 thou art no child of mine,
 Nor any part of this my Realme,
 by fauour shall be thine.

Thy elder¹⁾ sisters loues are more,
 then well I can demand: [50]
 To whome I equally bestow,
 my kingdome and my land.
 My pompall²⁾ state and all my goods,
 that louingly I may
 With these³⁾ thy sisters be maintaind [55]
 vntill my dying day.

Thus flattering speeches won renowne,
 by these two sisters here:
 The third had causelesse banishment
 yet was her⁴⁾ loue more deare: [60]
 For poore *Cordela* patiently
 went wandring vp and downe,
 Vnhelpt, vnpittied, gentle maid.
 through many an English towne.

Vntill at last in famous France, [65]
 she gentler fortunes found,
 Though poore and bare, yet was she⁵⁾ deemd,
 the fairest on the ground:
 Where when the King her vertues heard,
 and his⁶⁾ faire Lady séene, [70]
 With full consent of all his Court,
 he made his wife and Quéene.

Her father, old King *Leare*⁷⁾ this while,
 with his two daughters stayed:
 Forgetfull of their promisd loues, [75]
 full soone the same denaide.⁸⁾
 And liuing in Quéene *Ragans*⁹⁾ Court,
 the elder¹⁰⁾ of the twaine,
 She tooke from him his chiefest meanes,
 and most of all his traine. [80]

¹⁾ AL: eldest ²⁾ AL: pompous P: pompal ³⁾ ALP: those ⁴⁾ L: his
⁵⁾ ALP: she was ⁶⁾ ALP: this ⁷⁾ AL: old King Lear P (ed. Schröer): 'old' king Lear P (ed. Wheatley, = 4th ed., 1794): king Leir
⁸⁾ AL: deny'd P: decayed ⁹⁾ L: Regan's ¹⁰⁾ ALP: eldest

For whereas twenty men were wont,
 to waite with bended knee:
 She gaue allowance but to ten,
 and after scarce to thrée.
 Nay, one she thought too much for him. [85]
 so tooke she all away:
 In hope that in her Court, good King,
 he would no longer stav.

Am I rewarded thus, quoth he,
 in giuing all I haue [90]
 Vnto my children, and to beg,
 for what I lately gaue.
 He goe vnto my *Gonorell*,¹⁾
 my second child I know,
 Will be more kinde and pittifull, [95]
 and will relieue my woe.

p. 5]

Full fast he hies then to her Court,
 where when she heard²⁾ his moane,
 Returnd him answer, that she grieude,
 that all his meanes were gone. [100]
 But no way could relieue his wants,
 yet if that he would stay.
 Within her Kitchin, he should haue,
 what Scullions gaue away.

When he had heard with bitter teares,
 he made his answer then, [105]
 In what I did let me be made
 example to all men.
 I will returne againe, quoth he
 vnto my *Ragans*³⁾ Court, [110]
 She will not use me thus I hope,
 but in a kinder sort.

Where when he came, shee gaue command,
 to driue him thence away:
 When he was well within her Court [115]
 (she said) he could⁴⁾ not stay.

¹⁾ AL: Gonoril ²⁾ AL: hears ³⁾ AL: Regan's P: Ragan's
⁴⁾ ALP: would

p. 6]

Then backe againe to *Gonorell*¹⁾
the wofull King did hie:
That in her kitching he might haue
what Scullion boyes set by. [120

But there of that he was denied,
which she had promis'd late:
For one²⁾ refusing he should not
come after to her gate
Thus twixt his daughters for reliefe [125
he wandred vp and downe,
Being glad to feed on beggars food,
that lately wore a Crowne.

And calling to remembrance then,
his yongest daughters words, [130
That said, the duty of a childe,
had³⁾ all that loue affords
But doubting to repaire to her,
whom he had banisht so:
Grew franticke mad, for in his minde, [135
he bore the wounds of woe.

p. 7]

Which made him rend his milk white locks
and tresses from his head:
And all with blood bestaine his cheekes,
with age and honour spred: [140
To hils, and woods, and watry founts,
he made, his hourelly moane:
Til hils and woods, and sencelesse things,
did seeme to sigh and groane.

Euen thus possest with discontents [145
he passed ore to France,
In hope from faire *Cordela* there,
to find some gentler chance.
Most vertuous dame, where⁴⁾ whē she heard,
of this her fathers grieve: [150
As duty bound, she quickly sent
him comfort and reliefe.

¹⁾ A: Gonorill L: Gonoril ²⁾ ALP: once ³⁾ ALP: was ⁴⁾ ALP:
which

And by a traine of noble Peeres,
in braue and gallant sort,
She gaue in charge he should be brought [155]
to *Aganippus* Court.

Her royall King, whose¹⁾ noble minde,
so freely gaue consent,
To muster vp his knights at armes
to fame and courage bent. [160]

And so to England came with speed,
to repossesse King *Leare*:²⁾
And drue his daughters from their thrones
by his *Cordela* deare.

Where she true hearted noble Queene, [165]
was in the battell slaine:

p. 8] Yet he good King in his old dayes
possest his crowne againe.

But when he heard *Cordela* dead,³⁾
who dyed indeed for loue [170]

Of her deare father, in whose cause
she did this battell mooue

He swounding fell vpon her brest,
from whence he neuer parted,
But on her bosome left his life, [175]
that was so truly hearted.

The Lords and Nobles when they saw,
the end of these euent:

The other Sisters vnto death,
they doomed by consents [180]

And being dead, their crownes were⁴⁾ left
vnto the next of kin,

Thus haue you heard⁵⁾ the fall of pride
and disobedient sinne.

Returning now to the question of priority, we find that Johnson's argument has never been convincingly met. Ritson thought the omission of any other striking incident but Lear's madness might be fairly imputed to the ballad-maker's

¹⁾ AL: Whose royal King, whose P: Whose royal king, with

²⁾ AL: Lear P: Leir ³⁾ ALP: Cordelia's death ⁴⁾ ALP: they

⁵⁾ ALP: seen

want of either genius or information (Furness, p. 402). Simrock that the absence of the nocturnal tempest proves nothing, since the writer of the ballad meant to follow the chronicle, but could not escape the influence of the play (II, 220). The rest simply express their opinion, favourable to Shakespeare, so that down to the latest edition of the play I have seen (Craig, 1901, p. XXVI), the question remains open. I shall now endeavour to settle it.

The greater part of Johnson's contention is based on a very insufficient knowledge of the story in the chronicles and other versions. The ballad, he says 'follows the chronicle'. We should be saved some trouble, it will be seen, if Johnson had stated at once, which chronicle. But first as to his chief reason, by which he apparently scores: the omission of the nocturnal tempest.

We have to remember that at the Globe, with its roofless pit, where, if at all, the ballad-maker must have seen the play, there could have been no very realistic nocturnal tempest. Even if the candles on the stage were put out, there could be no approach to the darkness of night, that 'hell-black night' to which Gloucester looks back in III, vii, at an afternoon performance¹⁾ in a theatre open to daylight. Storm and tempest there was, as the stage-directions in F₁ show. There was, I suppose, some simple contrivance for raising the wind, while a playful cannon-ball undertook the rôle of thunder. And Elizabethan stage-management knew how to produce an illusion of lightning (cf., e. g., the direction *Thunder and lightning* in OP, Sc. 19), but the darkness of night could only be suggested, as by Gloucester's torch (III, iv, F₁) and by verbal allusion. Hence the very frequent references to 'night', thirteen from the end of II, iv to the end of III, iv. It ought not to surprise us, therefore, that in the ballad there is no mention of night. But what really

¹⁾ Cf. Brandl, Shakespeare, Berlin 1894, p. 25: die Stücke begannen um drei Uhr, was die Effekte künstlicher Beleuchtung ausschloß.

is surprising is that neither Johnson nor any of his supporters or opponents on this question have noticed the echo of the tempest in l. 140ff.:

To hils, and woods, and watry founts,
 he made his hourelly moane,
Til hils, and woods, and sencelesse things,
did seeme to sigh and groane.

The storm in *King Lear* grew out of a little cloud like a man's hand, the 'foule storme' from which the prototypes of Gloucester and Edgar take shelter in the *Arcadia*, but Shakespeare made the idea his own by a magnificent development through which 'the howlings of nature . . . seem converted into the voice of conscious humanity' (Coleridge). Here in the ballad we find again, most distinctly, however feebly it is expressed, that great characteristic, the seeming participation of nature in the agony of the hero.¹⁾

The success of a popular ballad, meant like this of *Lear* to be sung and sold in the streets, would depend to some extent upon the ease with which it could be committed to memory. Hence, partly, the use of the *kenning*, no less characteristic of this humble type of epic poetry than of the Anglo-Saxon epic. We have to bear this fact in mind when seeking an explanation of the strange mutations the story undergoes in this version, and in the present instance, of the lines just quoted. The impression of *Lear's* contending with the fretful elements is reduced to such a formula. Cf. l. 12 of *The Scotch Lass's Complaint* (1723

¹⁾ Was Sh. here indebted to Kyd? Cf. Span. Tr. III, vii, 4—9, *Hieronimo*:

The blust'ring winds, conspiring with my words,
 At my lament have mov'd the leafless trees,
 Disrob'd the meadows of their flower'd green.
 Made mountains marsh with spring-tides of my tears,
 And broken through the brazen gates of hell.
 Yet still tormented is my tortur'd soul

Collection, I 286): 'Unto the senseless Trees to make my Moan.' Lines 140, 141 contain a familiar idea; but the thought in the next two lines is new. They contain more than the echo of Lear's 'hourely moane': the echo of the Shakespearian idea. Similarly, to 'franticke mad', an expression which occurs in 'Gernutus', is added the idea of the wounds of woe to which the striking parallel in the play has been pointed out, p. 126. Here the ballad plainly shows the influence of 'Titus Andronicus's Complaint.' With l. 135—139 above cf. l. 49, 77, 66 from Percy, Ser. I Bk. II, XIII:

But nowe, behold, what wounded most my mind
I tore the milk-white hairs from off mine head¹)
With teares of bloud I wet mine aged face

(Cf. further p. 140, note). There is only one other passage in the ballad which rises to lofty imagery, and here again Shakespeare provides a parallel: the picture of Lear 'leaving his life' on the bosom of Cordela. For neither of the three passages could the balladist have derived the slightest hint from any other version. This suggests a pretty dilemma for Dr. Johnson, whose contention is indeed weighty, but with the weight of manner, not matter.

Strictly, his theory is upset by the mere recognition of something more than Lear's madness peculiar to ballad and play. But there is more to be said. If nothing of the ballad were preserved but its title, a Lamentable Song of the death of King Leare and his three Daughters, that would be

¹) Cf. Tit. Andr. III, i, 269: *Marc.* to *Tit.*, 'Rent off thy silver hair.'

For the very reason that in these London ballads many ideas and expressions are common property, it is unsafe to draw conclusions as to authorship; yet, I think, the two ballads of Titus Andronicus and Lear were by the same hand. But Percy's text, if, as it is likely, no better than that of the Lear-ballad, would be useless for any critical purpose. I shall endeavour to see the 'Golden Garland' again, from which Percy claims to have taken the Tit. Andr. ballad.

sufficient to show that the tragedy came first. The death of the elder daughters is found nowhere else but in Shakespeare. In many versions the two dukes are slain¹⁾ but their wives never. This Villain-Nemesis might, however, have been 'invented' by the author of the ballad — the wingèd vengeance overtakes such children in some of the folk-tales: in the Gascon tale, for instance (cf. III, § 17), they are hanged — but the deaths of father and youngest daughter as well would show that the writer of the 'lamentable song', if it preceded *King Lear*, achieved what only Higgins had even attempted, and gratuitously reduced the history of the two reigns to integral tragic form. If then we had only the title, we should have to lament the loss of a great poet's work. But we have the ballad, and Dr. Johnson says it 'follows the chronicle'.

Would the ballad, Skottowe asks, if later than the play, have made Cordelia to be slain in the battle, and the elder daughters to be condemned to death by the lords and nobles? The reason for its doing so is obvious. To relate the death of either daughter as it occurs in the play would mean bringing in Edmund. With Edmund must come a great deal more, in fact the whole secondary plot of Gloucester and his sons. To tell both stories is clearly beyond the capabilities of a simple ballad. Hence a clever substitution of other modes of death, readily suggested by the final scene. Which was 'the chronicle' (to give the lion's tail a final twist) the ballad followed in letting Lear give away his whole kingdom on conditions? It agrees only with OP, Harry, Sh. (cf. III, § 8). Or which gave it the train and its reductions? None later than Cxt. But MfM or Shakespeare might have supplied these details (cf. III, §§ 11—13. — I trust I have said enough to show that the chief source of the ballad was undoubtedly Shakespeare.

¹⁾ Namely, in HH, MB, MS. Reg, WCov, BS, PL, TC, RM; FPB, EPB, GR III, Cxt; Eul. Hist., PV, Hol, Harry.

Here and there are traces of another version (e. g. *Aganippus* in l. 156). Plainly the balladist's intention was not, as Simrock thought, to follow the chronicle, or after the Love-test we should hear of the marriage of the elder daughters, as in every detailed account (including MS. Reg.) except *King Lear*, where they are already married when the curtain rises on Act I, Sc. 1. Because it followed Shakespeare, the ballad was able to focus the interest by leaving the two dukes out altogether (cf. MS. Reg., § 5). Again, its author placed his impression of II, iv before the chronicle. He stands alone in making Ragan the eldest, and all the reductions to take place at her court (l. 77—86). The reason for this has been assigned by Lloyd (Crit. Essays, 1892, p. 442): 'because the details of ill-treatment were remembered from the scene where Lear is an applicant to Regan', II, iv; to which we may add intentional omission of Gloucester, *etc.*, to account for her court. The opening statement that Leare had all things that might his joys increase, ignores his chronicled want of a son, emphasised in OP. But this is due apparently to the ready-made rhyme, peace: increase, cf. Tit. Andr. Complaint l. 33f. — From what has been said, it must be obvious, I think, that the ballad-maker did not read the play, but saw it. I conjecture that we have here the work of a professional ballad-maker, who had some slight previous knowledge of the story, saw the play soon after its production, was particularly impressed by the final scene, and set to work on a woeful ballad; that in order to keep clear of the Gloucester story, and to eke out his impressions of the play, he looked up the historical account, probably at the bookseller's or printer's he was working for.¹⁾

¹⁾ I have not been able to see Chappell's ed. of the *Crown Garland of Golden Roses* and do not know to what extent Richard Johnson, a ballad-maker of some note at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century (cf. Child, I 83), whose name appears on the title-page of the *Golden Garland*, may have been responsible for the production of the Lear-ballad.

For the chronicle he used was apparently Holinshed, an expensive book. L. 129—134 and 153—155 suggest Cxt. rather than the later works, but Cxt., Rastell, Warner, give Agampe for Aganippus. The restoration of the train etc. (l. 153 ff.) knocks out MfM. The other names afford no help (cf. III § 2). Leare's repeated journeying, R to G to R to G, one more journey than in the original story, two more than in OP or Sh., favours Hol. ('going from the one to the other he was brought to that miserie') but belongs rather to the ballad style. Hol. also satisfies for the traces of chronicle in l. 69, 145—164, 167 f., in each of which three passages the result is apparent incongruity. Particularly at l. 145 ff. where the madness seems to have passed away (but cf. K. L. IV, iii, 41 f.) and at l. 167. But here, too, cf. K. L. V, iii, 298 ff., where Lear virtually possesses his crown again (cf. III, § 21, end).

The indignities to which Leare is made to submit, in such marked contrast to Sh., are adapted to the popular taste. We are reminded of OP, where Gonorill (Sc. 10) threatens to put her father 'to a piece of bread and cheese'. The conception of the old king in OP and Ballad is thoroughly *bourgeois*. OP is again recalled at l. 61 f., cf. Sc. 7, Cordella wandering, 'poore forsaken'. But there is no reason to think the ballad in any way dependent on OP; the same popular influence is at work in both versions. Cordela's wandering unhelped, unpitied, until her beauty wins her, though poor and bare, a royal husband (l. 61—68) comes from the well-known story of 'The Beggar and the King' (Cophetua, cf. Percy, Ser. I, Bk. II, vii). For the *kenning* in l. 62 and 126 cf. The Children in the Wood, l. 114: 'Went wandering up and down', and Tit. Andr. Complaint, l. 93.¹⁾ For l. 103 f.,

¹⁾ Other examples. For l. 21 cf. Tit. Andr. C., l. 88, 'my bleeding heart'; l. 82, cf. 'bended knee' in Henrie the Fifth's Conquest, Child VII, 192, and Queen Eleanor's Confession in Percy, l. 10, 26, etc.; l. 158, cf. The Seven Champions, Child I 91: 'The ladies freely gave consent;

119f., cf. the 'kitchen-boy' or 'scullion boy' in Child, 1880, II 81, 383; IV 99; VIII 167.

I am disinclined to leave the ballad without a protest against Simrock's verdict, 'geistloses Machwerk', a sentence which might with some justice be passed on MfM, where we can watch Higgins turning from his *Floure of Histories* to his old chronicle of 1515, and back again, but is in no wise borne out by the examination we have just been engaged in. 'Geistlos' would apply well enough to criticism which seeks to enrich Shakespeare by robbing the poor ballad of its good name, as this truly 'wegwerfendes Urteil' of Simrock's, or Ritson's ridiculous statement that the ballad is 'a most servile pursuit' of Holinshed (cf. Furness, p. 402). It is notoriously useless to compare a sow's ear with a silk purse, and to judge the ballad by the play is unreasonable. Again to place it beside Warner's effort in the same metre would be unfair to the latter. The only logical comparison is with other post-Shakespearian versions, the 18th century adaptations. I am probably biased, for this ballad made a lasting impression on me before I could read, so that I remember the circumstances when I first heard it. And to thousands of children it tells Cordelia's pathetic story when Shakespeare is a mere name, and conveys some inkling of a different morality from that which is inculcated by the customary materialism of a golden crown to reward the Beautiful. The writer of the ballad, it seems to me, learnt the lesson of *King Lear*, and some credit is due for his reflection of something of that supreme calm of the final scene (in which, by the way, the effect of the only feminine rhyme in the ballad is to be noted, and of the *enjambement* at 'love'): —

l. 161, cf. 'with speed' in Tit. Andr. C., l. 45, 85, and Queen Eleanor's Fall, Child, VII 296. The last-named ballad ends: 'Thus have you heard the fall of pride, A just reward of sin'. Cf. end of Lear-ballad.

But when he heard *Cordela* dead,
who dyed indeed for loue
Of her deare father, in whose cause
she did this battell mooue,
He swounding fell vpon her brest,
from whence he neuer parted,
But on her bosome left his life
that was so truely hearted.

— “Upon such sacrifices . . . the gods themselves throw
incense”.

III.

Shakespeare's King Lear.

1. **Introductory.** The interpretation of Scene I. At last we reach Shakespeare, and the real trouble begins. If we are anywhere likely to succeed in discovering what were Shakespeare's authorities for the story, we may most confidently hope to do so in the relatively unimportant first scene, where Lear's improbable conduct in dividing his kingdom and disinheriting Cordelia is retained as 'an old story rooted in the popular faith'. But first it will be well to gain a clear idea of what we are to look for. This is no easy matter, for since Johnson found 'something of obscurity or inaccuracy' in the exposition of Lear's intentions, we may almost say, As many commentators, so many interpretations.

I follow the interpretation of Coleridge, who with admirable insight has laid hold of Shakespeare's intentions in Sc. 1, in spite of obstacles presented by imperfect editing which have proved insuperable to less keen perceptions. At a certain point, however, it will be necessary to depart from Coleridge, for comparison of the original texts, F_1 and Q_1 , affords us a fresh light. I hope to show that if future editors will in three instances accept the best authorities for text and stage-directions there will be no more obscurity in Shakespeare's or Lear's intentions for readers of *King Lear* than there was for the audience at the performance 'by his maiesties servantes' at Whitehall, on Dec. 6, 1606.

In Act I, Sc. i, then, we learn by degrees that:

Shortly before the opening of Sc. i, the king in council with his nobles has divided Britain into three parts (cf. I, i, 38), the boundaries of which have been marked on the map¹⁾ he uses to point out to Gon. and Reg. the territories assigned to them (cf. I, i, 64, 82). This map may be supposed to be in the hands of Kent or Gloucester²⁾ when they enter discussing the division; and Lear's command 'Give me the map there' (I, i, 38) to be addressed to Kent. His kingdom, thus divided, Lear intends to hand over to his three daughters and their husbands, together with the government and revenue of the same, while he himself, free from all cares and business (I, i, 40), but retaining the title of king and all the external observance belonging thereto (cf. I, i, 138, and (c) below), will spend the remainder of his days with his favourite daughter, Cordelia (I, i, 125), and her husband, whom she is now about to choose (I, i, 49). The territories marked out for the elder daughters' dowers are so exactly equal in value, their advantages so carefully weighed that neither Albany nor Cornwall could by such 'curiosity' as Hotspur displays in 1 H IV,³⁾ fancy the

¹⁾ Not maps, as Moulton says (Sh. as a dram. artist, 1888, b. 203) — A similar map, but of England and Wales, without Scotland, is used for the division discussed in 1 H. IV, III, i. Also in the old Richard II, IV, i, 201. — Brute likewise uses a map of Britain in Higgins's Legend of Albanact (MfM I 40), St. 68:

I give to thee likewise
As much to bee for thee and thine apart
As North beyond the arme of sea there lyes
Of which loe heere a Mappe before your eyes.

Cf. K. L. I, i, 81: To thee and thine, hereditary ever . . .

²⁾ This has been already pointed out by R. Koppel, Zu *King Lear*, 2. Reihe der Shakespeare-Studien, Berlin 1899, p. 6, note 1.

³⁾ III, i, 96ff.: 'Methinks my moiety, north from Burton here, In quantity equals not one of yours: See how this river comes me cranking in, . . .' — Of course 'neither' in K. L. I, i, 6, as Koppel remarks, correcting Delius, refers to the dukes, not to their moieties.

other's share superior to his own (I, i, 5); but the portion destined for Cordelia, whose merit is to meet his 'largest bounty', is the best, 'more opulent' than those of her sisters (I, i, 53, 88). The king's plan is known to his councillors, Kent and Gloucester,¹⁾ and to Cordelia's suitors (cf. I, i, 197, 245), but not in detail to Cordelia, or to her sisters and their husbands, who may be supposed to have been recently summoned from their ducal residences to Lear's court. Hence the much-commented phrase 'darker purpose' (I, i, 37), 'darker' to all present except Kent, and at the same time to the audience. Cf. p. 154, 179.

No commentator has yet given a clear explanation of this 'darker purpose', and very few editions, either before or after Johnson's discovery of obscurity, present a text from which readers can possibly win a definite conception of what Lear really intended to do. The three following paragraphs will deal with the three causes to which that obscurity is due.

¹⁾ It should have occurred to those who hold that Kent and Gloucester only know part of Lear's plan (Delius, note on *moiety*; Wright, 1876, on *moiety* and *darker purpose*; Al. Schmidt, 1879, on *darker purpose*; Eidam, p. 19; and others), that if this were so, Gloucester's being sent away to attend France and Burgundy (I, i, 35) while the 'darker purpose' is explained, would arouse a suspicion of some ulterior motive; and that Kent exaggerates his own importance as councillor in his appeal to Lear (I, i, 160): 'Let me still remain the true blank of thine eye'. Eidam's argument that Kent and Gloucester know nothing of the 'third more opulent' reserved for Cor., 'denn sonst würden sie gewiß bei ihrem Gespräch in der ersten Scene diesen wichtigen Umstand erwähnen', I should not mention here but that since Professor Eidam repeats it after a lapse of 18 years (Bemerkungen zu einigen Stellen . . ., Progr., Nürnberg 1898, p. 30) that argument must have for its author a cogency which to me is not apparent. Kent and Glou. do not meet and begin a conversation, but *enter* together, discussing the intended division. If we choose, we may imagine that they have already commented on Cordelia's share. Anyhow there is such a thing as exposition. This curious *argumentum a silentio* would apply better to a character in Lewis Carroll: 'I'll tell you every thing I know', 'Tis little to relate'.

(a) Qualities or Equalities? In Gloucester's speech at the beginning of Sc. 1, all editors but four¹⁾ to 1880 read with Q_1 , 'equalities', although F_1 , which almost invariably gives the far superior text when there is a choice, offers the variant 'qualities'. All later editions that I have consulted²⁾ except one, also follow Q_1 with 'equalities'. Now however we understand 'equalities', whether as the equality in size of the first and second share, *plus* the equality of the third share with either the first or second; or with Delius as the equality of size *plus* the equality of value etc., if we read 'equalities' here in conjunction with I, i, 82f., there is no escape for a logical mind from the conclusion that the elder daughters' shares were each a mathematically exact third. For on Regan Lear bestows 'an ample third . . . , no less in space . . . than that conferr'd on Goneril'. How then could the third third, reserved for Cordelia, be 'more opulent' than either of other two, and represent the father's 'largest bounty'? This is the question that has been put time and again. Rümelin puts it very well with an apple to represent Britain. The problem is to divide the apple into three exactly equal parts, to give away two parts, and for the third child to keep back a part which shall be bigger and generally more desirable than either of the other two. The thing is clearly impossible.

There has been no lack of attempts to explain away the difficulty. Many ingenious theories have been propounded which are reciprocally destructive, for it may be taken as an axiom that in a matter broadly affecting the exposition of a play Shakespeare did not mean to be puzzling. He did not write to give opportunities for the solitary commen-

¹⁾ Namely, Knight, White, Schmidt, Furness. Cf. Furness *ad loc.*

²⁾ Namely, Staunton's (1881); the 'Leopold' (1881); the 'Irving' 1889; the 'Falstaff' 1896; Sheavyn's 1898; the 'Eversley' 1899; Craig's 1901; the 'Warwick' 1902. But Rolfe 1896 is a convert to Al. Schmidt (cf. Furness, *ib.*) and follows Furness with 'qualities'.

tator 'to exercise his neat intelligence'. If only for this reason the views of those who infer from Gloucester's words that he only knew part of the plan, or that the plan he knew of was a different one from that which Lear reveals immediately afterwards, must be rejected.¹⁾ For then the first six lines, so far from supplying 'premisses and *data*', sadly hinder the exposition, and would be better omitted. Again this difficulty, together with the wide-spread error that the king actually intends to measure his daughters' portions by their professions of love, leads to the frank avowal of 'chaotic purposes' in Lear, and culminates in the dreary belief that Lear was mad from the start,²⁾ surely the daftest of notions — as if Shakespeare wrote for an audience of psychopathologists! What is perhaps the most brilliant example (if I may say so) of *obscurum per obscurius* may be brought in here by way of comic relief. Since the three parts are exactly equal both in size and value, the 'largest bounty' which is to make Cordelia's third 'more opulent'

¹⁾ Cf. note 2 on p. 145. Delius and Wright, on *moiety*, remark that the word may here mean half, because Gloucester perhaps believes that Lear intends to divide his kingdom between Albany and Cornwall! Then poor Cordelia! — Wright on *darker purpose* offers the alternative that Lear first intended an equal division, 'and so much of his plan he communicated to Kent and Gloucester. His "darker purpose" develops itself in the course of the scene.' In this case the epithet 'darker' is inadequate.

²⁾ Von Friesen, it seems to me, plays helplessly into Rümelin's hands (Sh.-Jahrb. XII, 1877, p. 173): the poet meant Lear 'nicht als einen verständigen Mann vorzustellen, wofür ihn Rümelin nimmt, sondern als einen Mann, der in Folge seiner Verblendung über sich und den Lauf der Welt zu der thörichtsten Uebereilung hingerissen wird.' But Rümelin had written (Sh.-Studien, 2. Aufl., 1874, p. 72): Ein König, der so handelt, hat wenig Verstand mehr zu verlieren, und es wundert uns kaum noch, wenn er gleich darauf zum völligen Narren wird.' Rümelin could be logical enough at times. — Kreyssig wrote (Vorlesungen über Sh., 2. Aufl., 1874, II, 113): 'Ist es nicht das Benehmen eines schon im Verstande gestörten Menschen . . . ? . . . gleich die ersten Worte sind die eines Mannes, der einen Sparren zu viel hat.'

than the others is Lear's own person! How ingenious this is the author tells us himself: 'Aber wie gesagt, so verstehen das weder Lear's Töchter, noch seine Hofleute, noch seine Ausleger.'¹⁾ Nor, we may add, to make the list complete, Shakespeare himself.

There is no need for an elaborate statement of these theories, for the following passage from Holinshed ought, I think, finally to settle the reading in favour of F₁. In Ch. XXI of the Description of Britain, entitled 'How Britaine at the first grew to be divided into three portions', Harrison discusses a similar partition of the island to that intended by Lear, made by Brute (the founder of that house to which Lear perhaps refers at II, iv, 155; cf. § 26) between his three sons, Locrine, Camber, and Albanact. Harrison writes (Hol., repr. 1807, I, 195 f.): —

. . . during the time of his languishing pains, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonnes then liuing . . . To the eldest therefore whose name was Locrine, he gaue the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this daie is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England . . . This portion also is included . . on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne . . . To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dée, toward the west . . with sundrie Ilands adiacent to the same, the whole being in maner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegria by the said streames, whereby it seemeth also a peninsula or by-land . . . The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his youngest sonne . . whose portion séemeth for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the seuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another; for whatsoever the first & second haue in plentie of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in excéeding store of fish, rich mettall, quarries of stone, and abundance of wilde

¹⁾ O. Felsing in Allgemeine literarische Correspondenz für das gebildete Deutschland, Bd. IV, 1879, p. 63 f.

foule: so that in mine opinion there could not be a more equal partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforesaid maner.

If we could take a look at Lear's map, we should find the portions marked out for Gon., Reg., and Cor. to correspond in the main with those of Albanact, Camber, and Locrine, but with Cornwall added to Cambria for the second share, partly accounting perhaps for the emphasis of 'ample' and 'no less' at I, i, 82 f. The original story does not expressly locate the daughters' dowers, but the versions which do so naturally assume that the North went with Gon., the West with Reg., namely HH, Le Baud¹⁾; Harding, MfM. Cf. MfM 87, St. 13: 'Then to Maglaurus Prince, with Albany hee gave . . . Gonerell, . . . Ragan to Hinniue . . and for her dowry Camber and Cornwall'. Shakespeare was even more familiar with Holinshed than has yet been pointed out (cf. note on I, i, 118 ff. in App. I). Shakespeare's Holinshed was, in fact, not a selection of extracts, but the 1587 edition. We may be certain that he had read this passage. Presently (§ 9) I refer to the possibility of another hint derived from the same page.

Without dwelling on the discrepancy between Harrison's final opinion and the earlier statement that Locrine's was 'the greatest and best region',²⁾ we must notice that although the second son receives a share which 'in Circuit séemeth less' (it is actually very much less) than that of his younger brother, yet the two parts may be considered equal 'if you have regard to the commodities to be reaped by each'. Camber's country, though small, was richer in corn, grass and cattle than that of Albanact, which could

¹⁾ But these two mix up the two couples, giving the North with Reg., and only mention the actual division, Gon. with the South (cf. p. 32, 75).

²⁾ The passage might be taken to support 'equalities', and as the starting-point for a number of fantastic theories, as that Sh. followed Harrison unreasoningly, or that he meant to show that Harrison was crazy as well as Lear. But what we have to select is the common-sense view.

boast of wealth only in fish and fowl, stone and metal. In his appraisement of the two portions corresponding to those allotted to the two dukes, Harrison is able to declare them equal by the consideration not so much of their area as of their 'commodities'; not 'space' as much as 'validity and pleasure' (I, i, 83); in short their 'qualities'. If for the dukes of Albany and Cornwall we put Albanact and Camber, and for Lear, Brute, we see in Gloucester's opening speech a concise paraphrase of Harrison: 'in the division of the kingdom, it appears not which of the dukes he values most; for qualities are so weighed that curiosity in neither can make choice of either's moiety'. This, the reading of F₁, was, without any doubt, what Shakespeare wrote.

The reason why editors generally follow Q₁, appears to be chiefly that 'for equalities *etc.*' sounds better than 'for qualities *etc.*'; gives a better rhythm. This, of course, was what Capell meant by writing that 'qualities' takes 'something from the passage's numerousness' (cf. Furness *ad loc.*). This suggests the origin of the variant. The Q₁ text was probably obtained from a surreptitious copy taken down during the performance of the play (cf. Al. Schmidt, *Zur Textkritik*, p. 232). Nothing is more natural, phonetically, than the intrusion of a prosthetic 'e' as a glide from 'for' to the accented (kw) of 'qualities', either in the pronunciation of the actor or the hearing of the short-hand writer.¹) We may be thankful that 'qualities' has been preserved.

¹) The pronunciation of final 'r' was probably fluctuating at the time between modern Scotch (r) and modern English vocal (r). Cf. Ellis, *EE Pron.*, III 974. — Al. Schmidt's argument that there can be no plural to 'equality' (cf. Furness, p. 5) is useless; it would apply as well to any abstract noun. But early modern English had a strong tendency to use abstracts in the plural (cf. Franz, *Sh.-Gram.*, § 38). It is absurd to say the word cannot exist when so many editors prefer it to 'qualities'. If we take Rümelin's apple, at the moment of making the second incision we have to consider equalities. Al. Schmidt appears to have convinced only Rolfe (cf. note 2 on p. 146). Cf. also, note on 'cruels', III, vii, 65 in App. I.

With 'qualities' there is no need to think that the division was into three parts exactly equal in size. 'Ample third' alone now implies that there was no attempt at mathematical precision in this respect. One difficulty is removed.

(b) *Giving the crown.* Delius objected to this stage-direction, inserted by Pope after Lear's words, 'This coronet part between you' (I, i, 140), that the crown was one of the things Lear retained, and that he here hands over 'eine kleinere herzogliche Krone', a coronet in fact; observing that elsewhere (Temp. I, ii, 114; H. V, II, Chor. 10) Shakespeare distinguishes between 'crown' and 'coronet'. Wright contents himself with replying, 'There can be no such distinction here' (ed. 1876, p. 113). In the whole play there is nothing to justify Pope except the gibes of the Fool (I, iv, 175): 'When thou clovest thy crown i'th' middle and gavest away both parts...; thou hadst little wit in thy bald crown, when thou gavest thy golden one away'. But this 'all-licensed Fool', who by the way was not present at the abdication in Sc. i, has just previously made a statement directly contrary to what we know to be the truth. To Lear's 'Do you call me fool, boy?' he answers, 'All thy other titles thou hast given away' (I, iv, 163). Yet Lear had solemnly declared (I, i, 137), 'Only we shall retain The name and all th'addition to a king'. Neither allusion is to be taken literally. It is the irony of the Fool as Chorus. Pope's inept direction must be struck out, as is indeed done in the four most recent editions I have at hand, 'Leopold', Furness, Herford, Craig.

(c) *The Coronet.* Chiefly, it seems, in consequence of Pope's direction, and the belief that the word may somehow mean 'crown', the proper value has never been attached to this coronet. In F₁ it is mentioned only at this one place (I, i, 141). In Q₁, however, the stage-direction after I, i, 34 reads: '*Sound a Sennet, Enter one bearing a Coronet, then Lear, then the Dukes of Albany*', etc.; while F₁ gives, '*Sennet. Enter King Lear, Cornwall Albany*', etc. (K. L., Parallel

Texts, ed. Viator, 1892). The stage-directions deserve to have been taken into account by those who have studied the relationship of Q_1 to F_1 (cf. Furness p. 360—373). Here it will be sufficient to note that the two editions very rarely agree in this respect, and are apparently quite independent. According to Al. Schmidt's theory, the Q_1 text was printed from one of those 'stolne and surreptitious' copies of which the editors of F_1 complain, taken down at a performance. If so, the stage-directions of the inferior text possibly correspond more closely to the actual performance as directed by Shakespeare than those printed in the 1623 collective edition. In the present instance this is undoubtedly the case. Plainly a coronet is needed at I, i, 141; but it is there used for a purpose no one could have foreseen. In high rage at Cordelia's answer the king impetuously changes his plan, disowns his favourite daughter, gives her intended dower to the two dukes, and together with the whole land thus bestowed, his kingly power; and announcing the conditions on which he does so, adds (I, i, 140):

which to confirm,

This coronet part between you.

It is anticipating § 8 to say that comparison with other versions tends to show that the parting of the coronet symbolises primarily the division of Cordelia's land between the dukes rather than that of the whole island, which of course is simultaneously effected. This coronet and the coronet in the Q_1 direction must refer to the same property. No mere copyist or printer would have made such an insertion at I, i, 34, when the necessity for the coronet only appears a hundred lines later. Presumably the person who furnished the Q_1 text noted down at I, i, 34 what was actually taking place on the stage. Now why should a coronet be borne in at the head of the procession, preceding the king himself? It cannot be a symbol of his majesty, for Lear is traditionally represented as wearing his crown, and this is but a coronet, which is, *pace* Wright, quite a different thing. The only

note on the subject that I can find is that of Al. Schmidt, who supports Delius *versus* Pope and Wright at I, i, 141, to the effect that Lear hands over a coronet not a crown because he retains the title of king. But that is no explanation of the purpose of the coronet. Furness, Herford and Craig, three of the few editors who adopt the Q_1 direction, make no comment. No explanation has been offered.

The explanation is that the coronet was intended for Cordelia.

When once stated, the thing is obvious (or I am grievously deceived). Now for the first time sufficient light is thrown upon Lear's, so aptly termed, 'darker purpose.' The presence of the coronet already gives Lear's children an inkling of what his purpose is, supplying an additional motive for the elder daughters' flattery, and adding a new beauty to Cordelia. It also supports the F_1 reading 'last and least' (I, i, 85) against the miserable corruption of Q_1 (cf. App. I).¹⁾ Again, from the point of view of the audience, the presence of the coronet excites curiosity as to what is to happen, gives point to 'darker purpose', and together with the knowledge derived from the exordial dialogue (with 'qualities') is sufficient to prevent any suspicion that the king really means to measure the dowers by professions of love. It is not for me to point out how the destination of the coronet may be made plain on the stage, nor what thoughts it may be shown to give rise to in the various characters present, especially in Cordelia, whose long silent part is said to be very difficult. But editors must

¹⁾ Further it enables us to see more clearly the import of Kent's 'Reserve thy state' (I, i, 151), and 'Revoke thy gift' (I, i, 178; F_1 ; Q_1 is corrupt at both these lines). Eidam (p. 19) quotes I, i, 151 in support of his view that Kent knew nothing of Lear's intention to abdicate. With these words 'drückt er seine Überraschung über diesen unerwarteten Entschluß des Königs aus.' But if Kent had any objection to the abdication in itself, he would have expressed it at Lear's declaration of his 'fast intent' (I, i, 38 f.). It is only at the change of plan, the actual division, that Kent, foreseeing the danger, utters his emphatic warning.

insert a note on the Q₁ direction, showing what is the purpose of the coronet. Then, as I said at the outset, readers of *King Lear* will find no more obscurity than did the witnesses of the original performance.

We are now in a position to appreciate the criticism in Coleridge's *Notes and Lectures* (ed. 1849, I 188; cf. Furness, p. 4, for the full text):

It was not without forethought, nor is it without its due significance, that the division of Lear's kingdom is in the first six lines of the play stated as a thing already determined in all its particulars, previously to the trial of professions, as the relative rewards of which the daughters were to be made to consider their several portions. . . . They let us know that the trial is but a trick, and that the grossness of the old king's rage is in part the natural result of a silly trick suddenly and most unexpectedly baffled and disappointed.

To recur for a moment to 'darker purpose', it will be seen that the expression has various shades of meaning to those who hear it, according to the amount of knowledge they possess of Lear's plans. The spectators of the play know that the kingdom has been divided, and shares of equal value assigned to the two married daughters, and in proportion to their intelligence guess at the meaning of the coronet, which to them symbolises the 'darker purpose'. Cordelia and all the personages represented except Lear and Kent, perhaps know as much as the audience, but apparently can only draw certain inferences from the coronet. Whether 'darker purpose' means the same to Lear as to Kent; whether, that is, the trick Lear is about to try (his 'policy', to use the euphemism of OP) had been previously decided upon, and was therefore known to Kent, or is a sudden idea which now occurs to the king, is a question I shall not undertake at present to decide. It depends upon the amount of influence we may consider the 'further mystery' and 'sudden stratagem' of OP to have had upon Shakespeare (cf. § 6). But the recognition of the coronet's meaning opens up a mine. Far from seeing 'chaotic purposes' combined from 'several incongruous versions' (Herford) we can now

look upon Sc. 1 from Coleridge's level, and regard the opening of the play as a marvel of exposition.

Lest it be thought that I overrate the importance of this matter, let us turn to Vol. III of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* (1868). Here on p. 8, Ulrici stands up bravely for Shakespeare, denying that Lear really had the 'absurd'¹⁾ intention to measure off the daughters' shares of the kingdom according to their answers; and refers to a refutation in the preceding volume of this 'trotz ihrer Allgemeinheit entschieden irrigen Auffassung.' In Vol. II, p. 293 f., we find him showing why 'man dennoch allgemein diese — allerdings fast „kindisch“ zu nennende Intention dem König gegeben hat', and trying to show that Lear's challenge to his daughters (I, i. 49—55) was clearly 'nur ein plötzlicher Einfall auf den Lear kam und den er ausführte, um die Zeit auszufüllen, bis . . France und Burgundy . . eintreten würden'; that it could not have been meant seriously, and that he speaks of 'largest bounty' with an ironical smile.²⁾ These articles of Ulrici's prove that down to 1868 Coleridge had been crying in the wilderness, if as Ulrici says that erroneous view was general. Thirty-two years later we find a criticism on this point which goes so far as to contradict Ulrici over a minor issue. In Vol. XXXV A. Schröer writes, p. 139:

Lear will mit seiner Frage an seine Töchter wie sehr sie ihn lieben, nicht etwa nur spielen, sondern er stellt die Frage in allem Ernste und handelt danach in allem Ernste, sowie dies in der Quelle der Fall ist; Shakespeare motiviert diese eigentümliche Handlungsweise des alten Königs freilich in seiner Weise, und das allein macht uns dieselbe interessant, das allein läßt uns den König tragisch erscheinen.

¹⁾ This is aimed at a supposed dictum of Goethe's, which turns out to be mythical. See below, p. 156—7.

²⁾ Ulrici here endeavours to prove what he emphatically denies the next year. Cf. III, 8: 'Ich leugne entschieden, daß Shakespeare einen tragischen Helden . . jemals . . nach rein willkürlichen . . Einfällen . . handeln läßt.'

This quotation would be far more interesting if it contained a hint as to what exactly was Shakespeare's 'Quelle', and how exactly Lear's extraordinary behaviour is 'motiviert.'

When I add that Al. Schmidt in his edition (1879) explains 'our darker purpose' as 'unseren geheimeren Plan, d. h. wohl Lear's Absicht, die Mitgift der Töchter nach dem Grade ihrer Liebe zu bemessen'; that the standard German translation omits the Q₁ stage-direction and renders 'moieties' in Gloucester's first speech by 'Hälften'; and that the most recent annotated English edition (Craig, 1901) falls back upon Dr. Johnson to elucidate the 'darker purpose', it will be clear that up to the present time Coleridge's interpretation has been very far from general acceptance.

Some of the critics who, failing to see by the light that Coleridge holds out, regard the supposed dark confusion of Sc. i, according to their attitude towards Shakespeare, either as Lear's 'sublime unreason' or as childish nonsense, endeavour to take shelter behind Goethe. Kreyssig, who infers from the king's first words that Lear was 'not all there' (einen Sparren zu viel, cf. p. 147, note 2), leads up to this lofty utterance by the statement (2. Aufl., 1874, II 113) that 'Goethe hat die Scene absurd genannt.' He had perhaps drawn on Gervinus (4. Aufl., 1872, II, 189): 'Diese Scene hat Goethe absurd genannt.' Rümelin (2. Aufl., 1874, p. 71) goes one better: 'Schon Goethe hat nicht mit Unrecht gleich die Eingangsscene geradezu absurd genannt.' In the Index to the Sh.-Jahrb. we are referred to Ulrici 'Ueber das angebliche absurde Motiv.' Herford (p. 12) says of the opening scene that 'Goethe branded it as "irrational".'¹ Nowhere is the reference given, but if the following passage (Reclam edition, Sämtliche Werke in 45 Bdn., XIV, 203) is the right one, it will prove that we here meet with a small Goethe on *Lear-saga*. Goethe does not speak of an absurd scene or

¹) D. N. Smith follows (Warwick K. L., 1902, p. 97) with 'Goethe considered this scene "irrational" in its want of preparation'.

an absurd motive, but writes of the omission of Sc. 1 in the adaptation by Schröder: — ‘aber er hatte doch Recht: denn in dieser Scene erscheint Lear so absurd, daß man seinen Töchtern in der Folge nicht ganz Unrecht geben kann.’ The rest of Goethe’s remarks I prefer to leave where I found them, but they do not justify the inference that Goethe’s appreciation of Sc. 1 was no more enlightened than that of the critics who misquote him. To a verdict so qualified no possible objection can be made. Shakespeare of course never intended the blame to lie entirely on one side. His characters are not the abstract Virtues and Vices of the Moralities. What was perhaps in Goethe’s mind is clearly expressed by Coleridge:

Improbable as the conduct of Lear is in the first scene, yet it was an old story rooted in the popular faith, — a thing taken for granted already, and consequently without any of the effects of improbability. . . . Let the first scene of this play have been lost, and let it only be understood that a fond parent had been duped by hypocritical professions of love and duty on the part of two daughters to disinherit the third, previously, and deservedly, more dear to him; — and all the rest of the tragedy would retain its interest undiminished, and be perfectly intelligible.

Shakespeare himself shows us where first Lear becomes irrational, where in Kent’s hyperbole (I, i, 148) ‘Lear is mad’, when ‘majesty falls to folly’ (I, i, 151). It is when as in the old story ‘reason to rage gives place’ (cf. OP, Sc. 3, p. 317, l. 4), ‘when power to flattery bows’ (I, i, 150), when Lear with ‘hideous rashness’ hands over Cordelia’s coronet, the symbol of such tragic import, to the husbands of the two deceitful daughters. From this point, but not before, unless we think that the trick is a ‘silly trick’ (cf. *infra*, p. 178), in which case from I, i, 52, we are at liberty to accept the *ex post facto* opinion that Lear was naturally predisposed to insanity, though it is at least doubtful whether Shakespeare meant to convey that impression; but to believe with subtle denseness that Lear was insane

from the beginning is to take all human interest from the play. If our first impression of Lear is to be that he is not sane, the great tragedy becomes 'a tale . . full of sound and fury, signifying nothing', and *King Lear* should be relegated to the congenial care of those fatuous medical men who condescend to compliment Shakespeare on 'a knowledge of insanity that could hardly have been expected from any but a professional observer.'¹)

But now that we have a clear idea of what to look for, let us proceed with our task, the investigation of Shakespeare's sources for the story.

2. Names of King and Daughters. Though there is little to be learnt from them, a full list of the variants is here given.

Lear. Latin. Geoffrey and generally, Leir; later often Leyr; HH, Lier; GRB, Leyr, Leyrus; PV, Leyrus; Herolt, Keyr. French. *Verse*: Wace, MB, MS. Reg., Leïr; PL, Leÿr; *Prose*: Leir, Leyr; Wauq, Leyr, Lyr, Lier; Petit Bruit, Leirius, Leyrius. Welsh. Llyr, Llur, Lyr, Lur. Norse. Leir. German. Leyr, Lyr. English. *Verse*: Lay, Leïr; RG, Leïr, Leir: TC, Leyr, Leir (rhyming with fair, fayr, v. 3329, 3875); RM, Leÿr, Leyr; Harding, Leyr, Leÿr(?); MfM, Leire; Warner, Leïr; FQ, Leyr; OP, Leir, Leïr; Sh., Lear (Q₁ p. 9, Leir); Ballad, Leare. *Prose*: Leir, Leyr, Leire, Leyre, Leier. Caxton's edition of Trevisa's Higden (Polychronicon) misreads Leyth for Leyr, and this variant is noted by Fab., Grft.; Harry, from Welsh, Llyr, Lhyr.

'Leir' is dissyllabic in Warner and occasionally in OP. The substitution of ea for ei, ey, occurs before Shakespeare only in Henslowe's Diary, where the performance of 'kinge

¹) Cf. Furness, p. 414. This was a twin soul, evidently, with the critic who discovered that in IV, i, 11—13, Shakespeare shows himself 'to have been no mean psychologist.' Cf. Furness, p. 231.

leare' (i. e. OP) is recorded on Apr. 6, 1593—4. The phonetic value of ea before r in hear, weary, fear, dear fluctuates c. 1500—1650 between (ee), that is, open long e, and (ii). Cf. Sweet, HoES §§ 817, 823. Shakespeare's pronunciation of the name is shown to have been (liir) by the contemporary rhymes of the Ballad, Leare: deare, deare: here. 'Dear' is shown by Butler, 1633, to have been usually (diir); 'here' is (hiir) in Bullokar, 1580 (cf. Ellis, EE^{Pron.}, p. 81, 977).

Goneril. Latin. Geoff. and generally, Gonorilla; Geoff. ed. Ascenius, and ed. Commelinus, Genorilla; GCant, Gottsch, Gornorilla; WCov, Otterb, Goronilla; Eul. Hist., Gonorilla, Gorgonilla. French. Gonorille; Wace also Gonorille, Gornorille; MB, Goronille; PL, Gonorille, Cornylle; Wavrin, Agornorille; Bouchart, Gönoreille; Percef, Geronilla, Garonilla. Welsh. Gonorylla, Goronilla, Coronilla. Norse Goronilla, Gordonilla. German. Condriil. English. Lay, Gornouille, Gornoylle; RG, Gornorille, Gornylle; TC, Gonoryll(e); RM, Gonorille, Gonorylle; EPB, GR I, Cxt., Gonoryll, Gonorill, Gönorell, Corneill; Hard, Gönorell(e); Fab., Grft., Hol., Stow, Harry, Gonorilla; Fab. also Gonorilde, Grft., Gonorild; Stow also Gönorell, Conorel; Harry also Gonerilla; Rastell, Genoril; MfM Gonerell; Warner, FQ, OP, Harvey, Gonorill; Harvey also Gonoril; Sh., Q₁ Gonorill (III, vi, 49 and IV, ii, 30, Gonoril), F₁ Gonerill; Ballad, Gönorell. Modern editions of Sh. generally Goneril.

Regan. Latin. Geoff. ed. Giles and ed. Commelinus, GCant, GRB, Eul. Hist., Regau; Geoff. ed. San-Marte, ABev WCov, Eul. Hist. (also), Otterb, Regan; GTilb, Gottsc., Rous, Ragan; Geoff. ed. Asc., Ragana. French. Wace, MB, MS Reg., PL, Bouch, Percef, Ragau; Percef also Rugau; FPB, Regan, Rigan; Wauq, Le Baud, Regau; Wavrin, Regault, Regnault. Welsh. Ragaw, Ragau, Regau. Norse. Ragau. German. Regina. English. Lay, Regau, Ragau; RG, TC, GR I, Stow, Hol., FQ, Sh., Regan; FQ also Rigan; RM, Ragaw; Hard, MfM, Fab., Grft., Stow's Sum., Harvey, OP,

Harry, Ballad, Ragan; EPB, Cxt., Rygan, Rigan, Ragan, Ragau; Rast, Rogane; Hol. also Ragaie.

Cordelia. Latin. Geoff. and generally, Cordeilla; GTilb, WCov, Cordoilla; Gottsch, Cordoylla; GRB, Eul. Hist. (with Cordeilla and Cordoilla), PV, Cordilla; Higden, Cordella. French generally Cordeille; MSReg., Cordoille, Gordoille; LRB, Cordoille; FPB, Cordeill(e), Cordeil(l), Cordelle; PL, Cordeylle, Cordeyl, Cordelle, Cordille, Gordeil; Percefc, Gordeilla, Gordeille. Welsh. Red Bk., Cordeilla; Brut G. ab A., Cordeylla, Gordeylla, Chordeylla; Myvyr. text B, Cordeila, Gordeila, Chordeila; Brut. Tys. (MS. c. 1695), Chordalia, Gordalia, Cordaila, Gordaila. Norse. Gordeilla. German. Cordilla. English. Lay, Cordoille, Gordoille, Gordoylle; RG, Cordeille, Cordille, Cordylle; TC, Cordoil(e), Cordeil; RM, Gordylle, Gordille; EPB, GR I, Cxt., Cordeil(l), Cordeyl(l), Cordell, Cordiel(l), Cordil; Higden, Fab., Lanquet, Grft., Stow, Hol., Cordeilla; Higd. trans. Trevisa also Cordela; Hard., Cordell(e); Rast, Cordell; Godet, Cordeile, Coredil; Grft. Abr., Cordell, Cordyla, Cordeilla; Grft. Manuell, Stow in Index, Warner, OP, Cordella; Stow's Sum., Cordelle, Cordyla; MfM, Cordila, Cordell; MfM 75 also Cordile; FQ, Cordeill, Cordelia; Harvey, Cordeil, Cordeyl; Harry, Cordeila; Sh., Cordelia; Ballad, Cordela.

The name Cordelia is supposed to be identical with that of Creiddylad or Creurdilad, the beautiful daughter of Lludd, otherwise called Llyr (cf. p. 17). There is good reason to believe in the identity of the names, though Geoffrey in transforming the Welsh name to Cordeilla made it unrecognisable to his Welsh translators (cf. p. 19), for as 'the great figures of Celtic mythology usually assume the character of kings of Britain'¹⁾ in Geoffrey's book, this 'most beautiful maiden' may well have furnished the name for a queen. The distance between these two forms appears no greater than that between Caletbulch and Caliburnus (Ex-

¹⁾ Cf. Rhys, Celtic Heathendom, p. 119.

calibur), or Gwalchmai and Walgainus (Gawain).¹⁾ In Latinising such names Geoffrey seems to have modified them freely to forms which might obtain currency among his Norman readers, whom he certainly had chiefly in view in writing his *Historia*. His own name offers an example of this tendency. He is called 'Gruffyd ab Arthur' by Welsh writers; this, Zimmer says, was his real name (Nennius Vindictus, 1893, p. 277). But instead of retaining the Welsh 'Griffith', written *Grifut*, *Grifud* in the Latin *Annales Cambriae*, he adopted the Norman 'Geoffrey', signing himself 'Galfridus Artur' on the Oseney Charter in 1129 (cf. Ward, Cat. Rom. I 203). The name Cordeilla probably took its shape through a play upon *cor*, heart, which recurs more than once, from Matthew Paris's 'commota est corde illa' to Gallia's 'deare Cordella, cordiall to my heart' in OP, Sc. 7, and Ruskin's 'heart-lady'.

The popularity of the story in the 16th century is attested by an epitaph at Lee, in Kent, on a monument erected by 'Cordell', wife of Sir Thomas Hervey, Knt., youngest of three daughters of 'Bryan Anslye, Esquier', † 1604, and of Awdrey his wife, † 1591, to the memory of her parents, 'in further testimonie of her dvtifull love vnto her father and mother'. Her sisters, one is glad to know, were called Grace and Christian (cf. Athenaeum, Sept. 2, 1876, or N & Q, 6th ser., V, 1882, p. 465). This particular form is found in EPB (MS. Harl. 24), GR I, Harding, Rastell, Grft. Abr., and occasionally for the sake of rhyme or metre, instead of Cordila in MfM.

The heroine also stood godmother to a daughter of William Fleetwood (1535?—1594) the antiquary, recorder of London. She was married to Sir David Foulis, who came to England with James I in 1603, and she died in 1631, having borne him five sons and two daughters. In the two articles on her father and husband in the *Dictionary*

¹⁾ Cf. J. Lot, Romania XXV.

of *National Biography*, her name is given as 'Cordelia'. The Shakespearian form is otherwise found only in FQ, 1590, whence Shakespeare no doubt adopted it. Spenser first Anglicises *Cordeilla* into 'Cordeill'; then for a rhyme writes 'Cordelia', in favour of which 'Cordeill' is then dropped. As Lady Foulis was probably born before 1590 it would be interesting to know if there is documentary evidence of 'Cordelia' before that date. Mr. Sidney Lee has kindly informed me (Dec. 18, 1901) that to the best of his belief he gave the contemporary spelling in his article on Sir D. Foulis. Thus there is a possibility that the familiar form of the name which seems to us so much more beautiful than the others was already in existence when Spenser wrote. I have been unable to investigate this point further.

3. **The elder daughters' husbands.** Wright (K. L., 1876, p. VIII) observes 'a curious confusion' in Layamon: — 'Gornioille is given to the duke of Cornwall and Regau to the Scottish king, but afterwards the distribution followed by Shakespeare is mentioned as having been carried out as if it had been all along intended. This is in accordance with the story in Geoffrey of Monmouth, but it is not clear from Holinshed's account, which would lead us to suppose that Goneril was married to Cornwall, and Regan to Albany'. Eidam (p. 20²) remarks the same contradiction in Brut Tysilio as well as in Lay., but neither Wright nor Eidam explains the phenomenon.

I have had repeated occasion in the preceding chapter to refer to the like confusion, which has afforded a useful criterion for questions of dependence (cf. §§ 1, 7, 17, 36). It is everywhere traceable ultimately to a curious inversion in the original story. At the first mention of the two dukes, Geoffrey for some reason puts Cornwall before Albany (*dedit praedictas puellas duas duobus ducibus, Cornubiae videlicet et Albaniae*), and so produces the impression, since he has named the daughters in order of seniority, that the

eldest was married to Corn., the second to Alb. It is not till the next chapter (Cap. XII) that we find Maglaunus, duke of Albany, to be the husband of Goneril, and Henninus, duke of Cornwall, of Regan.

The effects of this inversion are various. While some of Geoffrey's followers (namely BS, Eul. Hist, Wauq, Percefl) agree exactly with the original, the majority read ahead and avoid ambiguity by at once pairing Gon. and Alb., Reg. and Corn. These are: — Wace and all his dependants but Lay, namely RMB; FPB, EPB, GRI, Cxt, Rast; MfM 75, Warner; Wavrin; — and also GTilb, GRB, WCov, RG, PL, Hard, Bouch, Harry.

Wace retains the inversion, it is true, but at the same time he makes it clear to all but Lay how the princesses were distributed (v. 1827):

Mariée fu bien cascune
al duc de Cornüaille l'une
et al rei d'Escoce l'ainsnee.

Lay manages to go wrong here (v. 3095):

The duc of Cornwaile — scal habbe Gornoille
And the Scottene king — Regau the scone.

While later (v. 3239) we learn that

He zef Gornoille — Scotlondes kinge
Cornwailles duke — Regau is dohter

No less contradictory than Lay is Tys where the translator first gives 'the eldest to the Prince of Cornwall, and the second to the Prince of the North', while Gon. turns out subsequently to be the wife of 'Maglawn, the Prince of Albany.' On the contrary MfM 87 first (St. 13) assigns Gon. to Maglaurus, Prince, with Albany, and Reg. to Hinniue with Camber and Cornwall as dowry, but later (St. 19), Higgins, following for the moment Parker's edition of the Flores Historiarum (see note on p. 164) in accordance with his ill-considered method of composition (cf. p. 86) shows us Reg. living in Cornwall with Prince Maglaurus

Others again jump at the conclusion from Geoffrey's inversion, and like Tys, marry Gon. to Corn., Reg. to Alb.,

but unlike Tys, abide consistently by their error. These are: — HH, followed by Le Baud; Pedro, Rous (HH implicitly, since Reg.'s dowry is the northern part of the kingdom).

Finally, other chroniclers retain the inversion, and add nothing to correct the false impression it gives, thus practically falling in with the preceding group. These are: — MW,¹⁾ GCant, Fab., Grft., Hol.

Fab. writes: 'The Fader . . maryed his .ii. elder doughters, that one vnto the Duke of Cornewayll, and that other vnto y̅ duke of Albania or Scotlande', and later: 'aswell by Magleyr (v. l. Maglanus) as by Hemyon (v. l. Heninus), Husbandes of the forenamed Gonorilde and Ragan'. Grft. copies verbally, but Hol. makes, as usual, some slight changes: 'The father . . married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus, the duke of Cornwall, and the other vnto Maglanus, the duke of Albania', and later: 'as well by Maglanus as by Henninus', omitting the following words of Fab., 'Husbandes of' *etc.* which would now cause confusion. Thus Hol. by addition and omission reproduces the erroneous impression he evidently drew from Fab., that the father gave the eldest daughter to Corn., and the second to Albania. If therefore Shakespeare had here followed either Fab., Grft., or Hol., he would have made Gon. the wife of Cornwall, and Reg. the wife of Albany, just as did Th. Heywood in his *Life of Ambrosius Merlin*, 1641, Ch. I. Heywood recounts Leir's history once more, following either Fab. or Grft., and without any suspicion writes that 'hee married his

¹⁾ Archbishop Parker's MW, 1570, differs like Luard's MS. E. from Luard's text in an addition which repeats the inversion. Hence the new confusion in St. 19 of MfM 87. MW ed. Luard reads: 'praedictas duas puellas ducibus Cornubiae et Albaniae maritavit', and later: 'sororum . . quas Maglauro et Hennino ducibus conjugatae fuerunt'. The latter passage is altered in MW ed. 1570 to 'de quibus sororibus illos genuerant Maglaurus et Henninus duces Cornubiae et Albaniae, . . .'

eldest daughter to the Duke of Cornwall, and the second to the Duke of Albania.¹⁾

Further, in those versions in which the marriages are arranged as in Shakespeare, the titles of the husbands are frequently changed. Wace and his followers down to MfM 75 advance the Duke of Albany to King of Scotland. The other versions which have been considered Shakespeare's authorities differ greatly from Sh. For instance, FQ marries Gon. to the king of Scots (Albania) and Reg. to the king of Cambria; OP, Gon. to the King of Cornwall and Reg. to the King or Prince of Cambria; Harvey simply mentions 'the Dukes Maglan and Hennine'; neither MfM 75 nor 87 yields what we seek. To make the matter clear we must have a table, excluding only those versions which give no information at all on the marriages.

<i>In</i>	<i>Gon.'s husband is</i>	<i>Reg.'s husband is</i>
Geoffrey	Maglaunus, dux Albaniae	Henuinus, dux Cornubiae
(1) HH	dux magnus Britanniae	alius dux
(2) ABev	Maglaurus, dux Albaniae	Henninus, dux Cornubiae
(6) MW	Maglaurus, dux Cornubiae	Henninus, dux Albaniae
(9) GCant	dux Cornubiae	dux Scotiae
(10) GTilb	Niaglannus, dux Albaniae	Edevvinus, dux Cornubiae
(11) GRB	Maglaurus, dux, Scoticus heros	Henninus, dux, Cornubiensis
(13) WCov	dux Albaniae	dux Cornubiae
(29) EulHist	Margannus, dux Albaniae	Conedagius, dux Cornubiae
(30) Otterb	Mangalia, dux Albaniae	Hemvinus, dux Cornubiae
(37) Rous	<i>Gon. is ducissa Cornubiae</i>	<i>Reg. is ducissa Albaniae</i>
(7) Tys	{ the Prince of Cornwall { Maglawn, the Prince of Albany	the Prince of the North the Prince of Cornwall
(26) BS	Maglarius, jarl, a Skotlandi	Henimus, jarl; Kornbretaland
(17) Pedro	duque de Cornoalha	rrey de Tostia
(3) Wace	Malglamis, li reis d'Escoce	Hennins, li dus de Cornuaille
(8) Lay	{ the duc of Cornwaile { Maglaunus, Scotlondes king	the Scottene king
(19) RM	Manglannus, the kyng of Scotlond	Hemeri, the duk of Cornwale
(20) FPB	managles, le Roi de Escoce	Hennus, the duk of Cornewaille
(23) GRI	Managles, the kyng of Scotlonde	hanemos, Earle of cornwaylle
(21) EPB	man(a)gles, kyng of Scotland	hanemos, Erle of cornewaylle
(22) Cxt	maugles, kyng of scotland	hanemos, erle of cornewaylle
(32) Wavrin	Maugladus, le roy d'Escoce	Hemon, le sire (duc) de Cornuaille
(42) Rastell	the kyng of Skotland	the yerle of Cornwall.

¹⁾ Heywood betrays no knowledge of *King Lear* in this account, derived entirely from Fab. or Grft.

<i>In</i>	<i>Gon.'s husband is</i>	<i>Reg.'s husband is</i>
(4) MB	Ma(r)glaus, li dus d' Albanie	Hennins, li dus de Cornuaille
(15) PL	MacGlaure, duk de Escoce	Hewyn, duk de Cornewayle
(31) Wauq	le duc dalbanie	le duc de cornuaille
(36) Le Band	Maglanus, Roy de Cornouaille	Erminius, Duc d'Albanie
(40) Bouchart	Malganus, roy d'Albanye	Ennin, roy de Cornoaille
(41) Percef	Maglaunus, le duc Dalbanie	Seminum, duc de Cornubie
(14) RG	the king of scotlande	the king of cornwaile
(18) TC	Marglaune, the duc of Albany	Hennius, the duc of Cornevale
(33) Hard	Maglayn, duke of Albania	Euin, duke of Walis, & of Cornwayle
(38) Fab	Magleyr, Duke of Cornewayll	Hemyon, duke of Albania
(47) Grft	Maglanus, Duke of Cornwale	Henninus, Duke of Albania
(48) MfM 75	the king of Albany	Hinnine, Prince of Camber & Cornwall
MfM 87	Maglaurus Prince; dowry, Albany	Hinniue (Maglaurus); dowry, Camber and Cornwall
(49) Hol	Henninus, the duke of Cornwall	Maglanus, the duke of Albania
(50) Warner	the prince of Albany	the Cornish prince
(51) FQ	Maglan, king of Scots; Albania	the king of Cambria
(52) Harvey	the Duke Maglan	the Duke Hennine
(53) OP	the King of Cornwall	Morgan, Prince or King of Cambria
(54) Harry	Magland, Duke of Albania	Hewyn, Duke of Cornwall
Shakespeare	the duke of Albany	the duke of Cornwall

The question now arises, why did Shakespeare run counter to Hol., his great authority on matters of history, and distribute the elder daughters exactly as in the original story? Was it merely chance? If not, I leave it to the reader's ingenuity to work out a combination of any of the versions that have been proposed as Sh.'s authorities, namely, Hol., OP, FQ, MfM, Harvey, that could have induced him to marry Gon. to the Duke of Albany, Reg. to the Duke of Cornwall; and meanwhile, after noting that Sh. agrees with Geoffrey, ABev, GTilb, WCov, Eul. Hist., Otterb, BS, MB, Wauq, Percef, TC, Harry, none of which are later than the 14th century except Otterb, Wauq, Percef, Harry, and none printed or otherwise accessible for Sh., except Geoffrey (printed 1508, 1517, 1587), Percef (1528) and Harry (1604), pass on to consider the Division of the Kingdom.

4. **The intended division.** Shakespeare by means of Gloucester's opening speech, the *coronet*, and Lear's initial declaration (I, i, 38: 'Know that we have divided In three our kingdom') shows us with a clearness that can never again

be obscured for those who wish to see, that before the opening of the play, a division of the kingdom into three parts or 'moieties' had been planned. There remained to be made the distribution, which in Sc. 1 is effected to the extent of two parts, *moieties*, or *thirds*, when Lear suddenly changes his plan, and instead of completing the intended division, makes his actual division, into two parts. If we have as much knowledge of the fabulous yet 'most potently believed' British history as we may safely attribute to an educated Elizabethan, we readily infer that the intended division was planned on the lines laid down by Brute, that the part allotted to Gon. and Albany would correspond to Albanact's portion, while Cornwall's moiety would be that of Camber together with his own duchy and more, roughly the south-west corner of Britain, still Celtic-speaking in Shakespeare's time (cf. Harrison, Descr. of Brit., Ch. IV). But the part reserved for Cordelia was that 'greatest and best region' given by Brute to his eldest son, Locrine, and called Lhoegres, afterwards England. Though this localisation of the three parts would, I believe, at once occur to the more cultured of Shakespeare's contemporaries, it is by no means necessary for the understanding of the plan. Lear's brief rehearsal of the 'qualities' of Gon.'s and Reg.'s shares (I, i, 65—6 and 83) does not forcibly identify them. All that is necessary is to perceive that the part kept back for Cordelia is 'a third more opulent' than the others, representing Lear's 'largest bounty.' Shakespeare, we shall see, was perhaps influenced somewhat by Hol. here, but his chief authority for this part was not Hol.

(a) In the great majority of versions there is no hint of any intended division. In Fab., for instance, Leir applies the Love-test simply 'to knowe the mind of his .iii. daughters.' Hol. stands alone with a remarkable variation: 'he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whom he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome.' That is to say, there was to be no

division, but Cordeilla, whom, Hol. has just stated, Leir 'loued . . farre aboue the two elder', is to be made queen of the whole of Britain. Hol. refers in the margin here to 'Gal. Mon.' as his authority, but Geoffrey had written something quite different, and there is no proof that Hol. really looked up this story in Geoffrey (cf. sup. p. 88), at least when he wrote the text, if indeed it was Hol.'s work. Hol.'s account is really unintelligible. After this strange insertion ending 'ouer the kingdome', he writes 'Wherevpon' (and picking up Fab again) 'he first asked Gonorilla' *etc.* Then why the Love-test? That is a question that must have occurred to Shakespeare when he read Hol. And surely he would require a more lucid account. Would he decline to be 'edified by the margent'? Cf. inf. p. 174.

(b) In Eul. Hist, PV, FQ, OP (cf. supra, p. 102) the intended division is an equal one between the three daughters. RG, BS, Gottsch. are not clear, but here too an intended equal division is implied, for two thirds are distributed, and there is nothing to indicate that the remaining third is preferable.

(c) In another group, the intended division is an unequal one: the daughter's portions are to be measured, it seems, by their professions of love, as in Shakespeare Lear suggests they are to be. These versions are: — Geoffrey, MB, Wace, Lay — the rest of Wace's followers belong to group (a) — MS. Reg., TC, Tys, Wauq, Percefe, MW > MfM > (OP). This group must be put to another test in the next §.

From MW (ut sciret quae illarum potiore regni parte dignior esset, convenit singulas, sciscitans ab eis, a qua fortius amaretur) into MfM, St. 7. From MfM 87 comes Skalliger's rejected proposal in OP. Cf. pp. 102, 104, 110.

5. The distribution of two thirds. In his second essay on the subject of this present chapter, Von Friesen comes to this conclusion (Jahrb. XII 173): 'Auch die Verteilung selbst geht in keiner der angeführten Quellen so

holtertipolter wie in Shakespeare's Drama. Sie erfolgt überall erst nachdem sich alle drei Töchter schon vollständig erklärt haben'.¹⁾ — Eidam's conclusion on this point is practically the same.²⁾ And Herford writes (p. 12) of 'chaotic purposes' in the king: — "It is reserved for Shakespeare's Lear after contemplating an equal division and assigning two 'ample thirds' to the elder daughters, to invite Cordelia to merit 'a third more opulent than your sisters.'" This is chaos indeed. "Ein König, der so handelt, hat wenig Verstand mehr zu verlieren."

If Von Friesen before reproaching Shakespeare with a want of care had studied the story as methodically as Shakespeare will be seen to have done, if, that is, in the course of his protracted researches he had gone to the trouble of consulting Geoffrey — an idea that appears never to have entered his head — he might have found in the original story what it is inconceivable to me that the other critics have failed to see, namely, precisely that distribution of two thirds, the adoption of which by Shakespeare has provoked such a huge amount of utterly worthless comment. In Geoffrey as in Shakespeare, the king, on receiving Gon.'s

1) The critic then continues: 'Wenn wir uns des von Rümelin gebrauchten Bildes bedienen wollen, sehen wir gleichsam wie der Vater von dem schon vorher in drei Stücke zerschnittenen Apfel oder Kuchen, den einzelnen Teil sofort derjenigen Tochter reicht, welche sich eben ausgesprochen hat; und es ist käum abzusehen, wie unter solchen Umständen eine Begünstigung der jüngsten und letzten noch denkbar sei. Hier scheint denn also der Vorwurf um so begründeter, als eine reine Fiction und zwar eine recht willkürliche Geringschätzung der sinnreicheren Quellen vorliegt'.

2) ' . . daß er mit der Verteilung nicht wartet, bis alle gesprochen haben, sondern daß er, was im ersten Augenblick so sonderbar erscheint, sowohl Goneril als Regan, gleich nachdem sie ihre Liebe . . beteuert haben, das ihnen zugedachte, genau abgemessene Land überweist. Bei keinem der übrigen Bearbeiter finden wir das.' Eidam regards Geoffrey as a 'Bearbeiter', namely of an old Celtic tradition (p. 4), to the original form of which 'Brut Tysilio' approaches more closely (p. 28) than Geoffrey's 'Fassung'!

pleasing answer, immediately assigns her a third of his kingdom; and similarly, after Reg. has spoken, to her he assigns another third part. Here is the necessary extract from Geoffrey (II, xi):

Cumque in senectutem vergere coepisset, cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere, easque talibus maritis copulare, qui easdem cum regno haberent. Sed ut sciret quae illarum majore regni parte dignior esset, adivit singulas ut interrogaret, quae ipsum magis diligeret. Interrogante ergo illo, Gonorilla prius cui pater: te, charissima filia, maritabo juveni quemcumque elegeris, cum tertia parte Britanniae. — Deinde Regan Credulus ergo pater eadem dignitate quam primogenitae promiserat, cum alia tertia parte regni eam maritavit. At Cordeilla ultima

Here we are confronted again with the difficulty found in *King Lear* if with Q_1 we read 'equalities.' Two thirds are distributed, the remaining part can only be a third. How then can Cordeilla, if that is the king's intention, become the recipient of a larger share. The difficulty is partially overcome by taking *tertia pars* not in a strict, but in an approximate sense, as in *King Lear* the F_1 reading 'qualities' allows us to do.

Apparently it was the desire to avoid this difficulty that led many of Geoffrey's followers who repeat these details — except Tys who translates literally, 'largest share' — to change 'majore parte' into *better, best share*. They are all dependent on Geoff. alone, except Lay who follows Wace. Cf. MB, v. 2784: 'meilor partie'; Wace, v. 1721: 'le mius del sien' (Lay, v. 2952: that beste del); Wauq: 'la milleur portion'; Percefc.: 'la meilleure partie'. RG, BS and Gottsch. omit *majore parte*. Yet two other independent members of group (c) in § 4 make a similar change where, since they omit the distribution of two thirds, it is unnecessary. Cf. MW: *potiore parte*; MS. Reg.: *greignur honur*. The edition of Geoff. printed at Paris in 1515 by Ascenius (who takes great liberties with the text) also reads 'potiore parte'. Those of Commelinus 1587, of Giles, and of San-Marte all give 'majore parte'.

But this is only a partial solution of the puzzle. Let us take another look at Rümelin's apple before it gets rotten. A father (Geoffrey's Leir) wants to know which of his three children deserves the biggest, or say the best share (assuming

that one side looks to be worm-eaten, and another side less ripe), so, stupidly enough, he asks which loves him best. The first child flatters him. Thereupon, before hearing what the others have to say, he cuts out a third part of the apple and gives it to the first child. We will not go any further, but ask how in the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth he can possibly know which part the first child is entitled to; whether he shall cut out the green side, the maggoty side, or the nice red side?

The only known follower of Geoffrey who having got into this muddle, attempts to get out of it, is Lay. He takes it that the father is so pleased with the first child's answer that he cuts out the nice red side, v. 299ff. Cf. II, § 8. Eidam (p. 20, note 2) finds nothing to object to in Wace, but ascribes Lay's departure from his model, to carelessness, certainly with injustice. Cf. the parallel from the Roman folk-tale cited in the § referred to. But in making this change Lay. weakens the story by destroying the purposed preferential treatment of Cordeilla suggested here as in Geoff., Wace etc. by the statement that she was the king's favourite daughter. — There is perhaps an attempt, but a very feeble one, in TC, who makes Leir give Reg. 'a nothyr gret porcoun' (v. 3370) not as to Gon. a 'therd part' (v. 3344). — In RG, BS, Gottsch. there is no suggestion that Cor. is to have the best share, and consequently no inconsistency in the distribution of two thirds. — Another obscurity in Geoff. may be mentioned here: — Leir promises to give Gon. the husband she chooses (te . . maritabo) but on hearing Reg.'s answer, 'cum alia tertia parte regni eam maritavit'. Since in the sequel Gon. and Reg. are married at the same time, with half the land divided between them, i. e. a quarter each in hand, not a third (Nec mora: consilio procerum regni dedit praedictas puellas etc.) the translators generally turn the indirect perfect *maritavit* into a direct future, namely MB, Wace, BS, TC; or into 'promised to marry', Perceforest. But Tys, Wauquebar make no change.

All that ingenuity, then, that has been misapplied to Sc. 1 of *King Lear* need not be entirely wasted. It is open to commentators to ask themselves whether Geoffrey's Leir is mad, or whether he had a congenital predisposition to insanity; or whether Geoffrey himself was mad. For my part I confess I do not understand Geoffrey, and have no hope

of doing so. I take refuge in the words Johnson applied, unjustly as it has proved, to Shakespeare's opening scene: 'There is something of obscurity or inaccuracy' here. 'The king has already divided his kingdom, and yet he examines his daughters, to discover in what proportion he should divide it.' But note that for all who have held this Johnsonian belief, which according to Ulrici (who had not read Coleridge) was universal (allgemein) in 1868 (cf. p. 155), that Lear actually measures his daughter's dowers by their protestations of love, the conclusion would be unavoidable (if anyone had read the original story carefully enough to point out the complete parallel) that Shakespeare while retaining the original details, took over with them, in the most servile and brainless manner, precisely that obscurity or inaccuracy which Johnson causelessly deplores; while of all the other followers of Geoffrey, there is none but the Welsh translator of the Brut Tysilio (among those who retain enough detail to include this remarkable conundrum) but makes some attempt or other to lessen that obscurity. It is to be hoped, therefore, that we shall hear no more of the 'angebliche absurde Motiv'. And I venture to express the hope, further, that those who hold with Dr. Furness 'that of all departments of Shakespearian study none seems . . . more profitless than this search for the sources whence Shakespeare gathered his dramas', may he led to modify their opinion, for if the search for the sources of *King Lear* had ever been undertaken with the slightest approach to a scientific method, the searcher must have come upon this original 'obscurity' in Geoffrey; would have been forced to reconsider the whole question of 'obscurity' in Sc. 1; and would no doubt have made the discovery which dispels that obscurity and vindicates both Shakespeare and Coleridge his apostle: the purpose of the *coronet*.

Those versions which, besides Shakespeare, retain the distribution of two thirds are: — MB, Wace, Lay, BS, RG, TC, Tys, Wauq, Gottsch, Percefc. Of these only five

agree with Sh. in first suggesting an unequal division, the best share for Cor., namely MB, Wace, Tys, Waug, Percef. Only Percef besides Geoffrey could have been accessible to Shakespeare, for MB, Wace, Tys were first printed in the 19th century; Wauq is still inedited.

We have seen that of those of Geoffrey's early followers who are brought face to face with the problem by the retention of sufficient original detail, only one, Layamon, can be said to have really attempted a solution, and in his case the attempt is so feeble that the story loses more than it gains. How Shakespeare deals with it we already know. He shows Coleridge that the intended division was already actually made, 'that the trial is but a trick, and that the grossness of the old king's rage is in part the natural result of a silly trick suddenly and most unexpectedly baffled and disappointed'. But the *coronet* shows us more than Coleridge was allowed to see. The trial is a trick, but the real motive for the trial was not to play a trick on the elder daughters. We can hardly call it a silly trick.

6. The trial a trick. Was the trial in Geoffrey a trick too? The idea cannot be entertained. In the original Latin quoted above (§ 5) there is nothing — or the authors of intermediate versions would have seen it — to suggest that the reason of the Love-test was not to know how to divide the kingdom. There is nothing in Geoffrey corresponding to the ambiguous line, I, i, 52: 'Which of you shall we say doth love us most'. Whence did Shakespeare derive the idea of turning the foolish old Love-test which Geoffrey took from the Loving like Salt-story, and made his king of Britain apply in all seriousness, into a trick. I am helped here by a remark from Herford (p. 8) to the effect that in Hol. the questions are a mere disguise for the king's partiality for Cordeilla, to whom he designs to bequeath the kingdom entire. It is doubtful whether this really was Hol.'s meaning, for his account is such a patchwork affair, with this novel plan of Leir's, said to have the authority of

'Gal. Mon.', clumsily inserted in what is in reality Fab's text, that I believe Hol. had no clear idea of a connection between the Question and Leir's design to prefer Cordeilla to the succession (cf. p. 167). But what Hol. meant does not matter.¹⁾ The fact that Herford thus interprets Hol. shows that the suggestion of a trick may have come to Shakespeare from this source. Hol. may well have been instrumental in confirming the natural inference from the original story that Leir meant the best or greatest part for Cor.; and here I may as well state my belief that it was the reference to 'Gal. Mon.' in Hol., opposite this non-sequence of ideas, that first aroused Shakespeare's curiosity as to the original account. To this matter I shall return (in § 28) when I have brought forward more evidence that Sh. used Geoffrey.

The idea of a trick, however, comes, I think, not from Hol., but rather from OP, where the Love-test is 'a sudden stratagem' conceived in Sc. 1 (King with councillors) and carried out in Sc. 3. In order to ensure 'a perfit peace', the king wishes to marry his three daughters to 'neighbour Kings, bordring within the bounds of Albion'. Gon. and Rag. already have suitors to their taste in the Kings of Cornwall and Cambria. But Cordella, though she daily has 'several choyce of suters', 'vows no liking to a Monarch, vnless loue allowes'. Leir would 'fayne bestow' her 'vpon the rich King of Hibernia.' He will try therefore which of his daughters loves him best, and

'when they jointly shall contend,
Eche to exceed the other in their loue:
Then at the vantage will I take *Cordella*,
Euen as she doth protest she loues me best,
Ile say, Then, daughter, graunt me one request,
To shew thou louest me as thy sisters doe,

¹⁾ Cf. the casting of lots in OP derived from Spenser's 'equall lots', p. 103.

Accept a husband, whom my selfe will woo
 This sayd, she cannot well deny my sute
 Although (poore Soule) her fences will be mute:
 Then will I tryumph in my policy
 And match her with a King of *Brittany*.

Here as in *King Lear* the king's 'policy' is based upon his entire confidence that the youngest daughter will compete with her sisters, and the king's anger is due in part to the sudden and unexpected failure of his 'policy'. For the influence of OP on Sh.'s Sc. 1 we have some positive evidence, e. g. Cordelia's asides, and Kent's interposition (cf. § 17) and some negative. It seems possible, that is to say, that OP's laborious setting out in 7 scenes of the circumstances which lead up to the conflict (these seven scenes are taken up with Leir's abdication and the marriages of his three daughters) may have been of some little use to Shakespeare in showing him 'how not to do it'. Such a proposition naturally admits of no proof, but it readily accounts for Shakespeare's showing us Gon. and Reg. already married, previously to the Love-test, as in no other version, and for his placing the council-scene which, from the first words of Sc. 1 and later hints (including the ironical allusion of the Fool, I, iv, 154 ff.; Q₁: 'The lord who counselled thee' etc.) has evidently taken place, before the opening of the play. In Geoffrey we have indeed a *consilium procerum* for the actual division, but the king does not take counsel over the intended division except in OP, where Sc. 1, modelled on I, ii of *Gorboduc*, reveals Leir in council with his nobles, whose proffered advice only serves to strengthen the king's conviction that his own plan is the best. Cf. the parallels in *Gorboduc*, 'In one selfe purpose do I still abide' and OP, 'my zeale is fixt' (cf. p. 109) with Lear's 'fast intent' (I, i, 38) and 'constant will' (I, i, 44). Skalliger in OP, Sc. 1, announces to the audience his intention to 'bewray' Leir's 'secrecy'; but what he actually does 'bewray' to Gon. and Rag. in Sc. 2, is something quite different from the equal

division intended by Leir, whose 'zeale' was 'fixt'. Skal. tells them:

between you three
He will deuide his kingdome for your dowries.
But yet there is a further mystery
Which, so you will conceale, will I disclose
.
. . . looke, whose answer pleaseth him the best
They shall haue most vnto their marriages.

OP, we see, does what Sh. has been unjustly accused of: imperfectly combines two 'incongruous versions', namely, the intended unequal division of MfM with the intended equal division of FQ (cf. p. 168). But though there is confusion here, Shakespeare, I think, learnt from OP's faults something for his exposition of Lear's plan, namely the effectiveness of disclosing the king's design very gradually. The 'sudden stratagem' and 'further mystery' of OP must excite the curiosity of the audience. These two expressions are, to my mind, partly responsible for the *coronet* and the 'darker purpose' of *King Lear*.

The foregoing remarks will appear, I think, fairly plausible to those who hold a rational view of the transmission of ideas; have overcome the childish fear of that bugbear Plagiarism, and know that Shakespeare's fame can never be lessened in the slightest degree by any discovery of where exactly he may have found a certain idea; who in fact have any conception of the true value of the search for his sources. But they could only afford, at best, a little mild amusement to those who hold with Al. Schmidt (K. L. 1879, p. 10) that Sh. owes nothing to OP and probably never knew of it; or of those who are content to believe that Sh. invented the details of Lear's train of knights and its reductions because there is no mention of such details in the versions (Hol, OP, FQ) generally set down by editors as Sh.'s authorities. To such minds the argument of § 3 above will be meaningless. They will no doubt continue to regard it as a natural thing that Sh. marries Reg. to the Duke of Cornwall because Hol. pairs her with the Duke of Albany and FQ and OP with the King or Prince of Cambria. But to these mystics I cannot hope to carry conviction, and to their judgment I do not appeal. From this point these investigations will be carried on without any reference to the mystic point of view.

OP is the first to supply a satisfactory motive for the Love-test. It is a trick to beguile the youngest daughter, who is not as elsewhere the favourite (cf. Sc. 1: p. 308, l. 21), but shares her father's love equally with her sisters. Shakespeare, keeping closer to the original story, and influenced to some extent by Hol., also supplies a motive for the Love-test. It is a trick to disguise Lear's preference for Cordelia (cf. I, i, 125, his outcry when his plans are shattered: 'I loved her most' . . .), whom he confidently expects to show herself worthy of that 'largest bounty' which is (inexplicably) reserved for her in Geoffrey. Yet the true inward motive (since he surely can do what he likes with his land) is to draw from the quiet, reserved, undemonstrative girl, his youngest daughter, whose true depth of character is not unnaturally a sealed book to her old father, the gratification of a warm and unrestricted expression in words of a love no less than his own. I cannot find with Coleridge Lear's 'eager wish to enjoy his daughters' violent professions'. It is no 'Schmeicheleibestellung'. Lear takes it for granted that Gon. and Reg. will try to please him, but their flattery leaves him cold. He is not affected by it in the least until Cordelia's answer is given. Comparison with the original and other versions support this view. In Geoffrey, Leir stops to express his delight at Gonorilla's reply: — cui pater, Quoniam senectutem meam vitae tuae praeposuisti, te, charissima filia, maritabo Cf. Cxt: 'now certes quod the fader that is a grete loue', to Gon., and to Reg.: 'per ma foy, I may no more axe'. Shakespeare's Lear gives no word of commendation either to Gon. or to Reg., but, as it were, mechanically assigns to each the pre-determined portion, and disposes of the business part of the intended division as quickly as possible; then having made known his will, 'that future strife may be prevented now', turns gladly to the enjoyment of the anticipated pleasure. In a way the Love-test is a trick, but I cannot see that it is 'a silly trick', for the *coronet* together with I, i, 38, 44, must reveal

to the clever daughters the real object of this ceremony, and to think that Lear hopes to succeed in making them believe their portions to be the relative rewards of their professions, would be to replace one gross improbability by another. For Lear the right to divide his land as he pleases is unquestionable. The elder daughters must be only too pleased and grateful for their ample thirds. It is not and cannot be to win better shares than they know are allotted to them that Gon. and Reg. flatter. Their motive for flattery is quite another (cf. § 7). If I here disagree with Coleridge it is because he did not go far enough in showing how Shakespeare has eliminated the irrationality, and if there is any apparent inconsistency in my argument, it is due to the fact that I had first to cut a way through a thicket of misinterpretation up to Coleridge's standpoint, from which there is no reason why we should not attempt to see more clearly, by the new light which the *coronet* affords. The trial is a trick, and as in OP it is disastrous to Cordelia, but we have no right to call it a silly trick (as is that of OP), for Lear's design, the primary object of the Love-test, arises out of his perfectly natural and reasonable wish to hear from Cordelia's own lips the confession of a love which, however, she is only able to prove by deeds. Natural and reasonable because the old egoist has as yet no conception of his young daughter's high ideal of filial love. See § 7.

By the help of OP, whence comes the idea of a trick, an idea, however, entirely transformed by Sh., we might read between the lines, and imagine Lear in council with his nobles (= Sc. 1 of OP), declaring his intention to abdicate, and announcing his plan of division, together with the 'policy' by which his elder daughters are to prove themselves, when Cordelia tells her love, less worthy than the youngest of that 'greatest and best region', now called England. We may imagine Kent's attempt at dissuasion (= Perillus), and Gloucester neutral (= *Noble* in OP, Sc. 1), while Kent's objections only tend to make the headstrong king (Gorboduc-

Leir) abide more firmly in his 'one self purpose'. The Fool's ironical rhyme helps us here. It was no lord that counselled Lear to give away his land; that was a project of his own making. Along this line we should come to the conclusion, to which there is no objection in the play, that 'darker purpose' means the same to Lear as to Kent, that is, the trick; which was therefore no sudden idea, but part of the plan pre-arranged by Lear before the opening of Sc. 1 (cf. p. 154).

7. The motive for flattery. If we ask why the elder daughters flatter, there is no satisfactory answer in most versions, at least as far as Gon. is concerned. It may be that it is implied generally, but only in RM before OP is it expressly shown that they know what depends upon their answers (cf. p. 110, note 1).

The want of clearness originates in Geoffrey. The words 'adivit singulas' (cf. above p. 170) seem to imply that each is to give her answer unbiased by what her sisters say. So BS takes it, and omits the passages which show Reg.'s and Cor.'s knowledge of the previous interviews: (Geoff.) 'Deinde Regan . . exemplo sororis suae benevolentiam patris allicere volens' and 'Cordeilla ultima, cum intellexisset eum praedictarum adulationibus acquievisse'. Wace is no more lucid than Geoff.: v. 1723, 'cascune apela sainglement, et l'ainsnee premierement', but v. 1743, 'Ragaü out entendu cume sa suer out respondu'. Again, v. 1755, 'Adunt apela Cordeille', but, v. 1761, 'Cordeille out bien escuté, et bien out en sun cuer noté, cument ses dous sorurs parloënt'. — Lay, following Wace, begins well enough, but is not consistent: v. 2956, 'He clepede Gornouille vt of hire bure'; Reg. betrays no knowledge of what has passed between Leir and Gon.; then, v. 3025, 'he hehte cumen him bi-foren his dohter Gordoille', but, v. 3031, 'Cordoille iherde the lasinge the hire sustren seiden thon kinge'. — There is a similar lack of lucidity in TC, MW, Fab, Grft, and in a less degree Hol. — MB, RG, Hard, Bouch, Gottsch, FQ bring all three daughters on the scene at the same time, as in the two plays and the ballad. — But while in the early accounts except BS, Lay, it is clear that Reg. flatters in imitation of her sister, there is no definite motive for Gon.'s flattery except in RM, before OP.

In OP there is the counterplot. Skal. betrays the king's plan to Gon. and Rag., who agree so to flatter with their

doting father as he was ne'er flattered in his life. And their answers are so framed as to ensure the failure of Leir's 'policy'. Knowing that whatever they say he means to match them with Cornwall and Cambria, their lovers, they forestall his purposed request to Cor (cf. passage quoted p. 174) by proclaiming their perfect readiness to marry 'the meanest vassayle in the spacious world' if it is his will.

In *King Lear* although the king by his ambiguous framing of the question (an example of a most striking characteristic in Shakespeare's relation to his sources: that he keeps very close to the tradition, yet by a slight superficial change allows a new and rich meaning to be found by those who go below the surface):

Which of you shall we say doth love us most?
That we our largest bounty may extend
Where nature doth with merit challenge.

— although Lear has appeared to so many to imply that the relative rewards will be proportioned to the answers, yet it is perfectly clear that this cannot be his meaning. To Gon. and Reg. his open declaration that the kingdom has been divided, I, i, 38, 44, together with the *coronet*, plainly shows that they can hope to win no greater share directly by flattery. And to the audience who in addition have heard that Gon. and Reg.'s share are of exactly equal value it is also perfectly plain that they cannot be eligible for this 'largest bounty'. There is no 'Schmeicheleibestellung'. Then why do Gon. and Reg. flatter? The two duchesses, who already wear coronets in their own right, know that this other *coronet* can only be intended for Cordelia, the last and least. They know then that this function they are called upon to take part in, is planned for the glorification of their young sister. Therefore they flatter. We have absolutely no right to suppose that Lear is so foolish as to believe he conceals from his elder daughters what is patent to them and to everybody else. What they reply is of practically no importance as yet. He does not ask them

to flatter. But they do so, as in OP, in order to foil Lear's plan. Their answers (Goneril of course being the leading spirit) are directed against Cordelia. They frame their answers in such a way that it becomes impossible for Cordelia to say anything. They know her character much better than does her old father. What can Cordelia say, after them? — Nothing.

A special inquiry into the various forms of the elder daughters' answers only yields this result, that everywhere before OP they give flattery pure and simple, with the intention apparently (though in Geoffrey etc. it is impossible to see how it can come about) of winning the best share. In OP a new motive occurs, the jealous sisters flatter in order their sister's 'wreck to wage'. In Sh. their motive for flattery is the same. In OP they plot in a special scene (Sc. 2) to ruin Cordella by proclaiming their readiness to do what they know she will not do. In *King Lear* (where in Sc. 1 there is probably some by-play between Gon. and Reg.) they know that Cordelia cannot do more than state her filial love in modest terms. Goneril at once forestalls her answer (on which see further § 24). Instead of saying as in Geoffrey etc. that she loves her father more than her life, she takes (c) from Cordeilla's answer (cf. § 24) and involves it (l. 60: love 'as much as child e'er loved or father found') in such extravagant professions that Cordelia at once, in disgust at her ruthless hypocrisy, decides to say nothing. 'What shall Cordelia speak? Love and be silent'.

It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge that OP has served here, as often else, as a stepping-stone to *King Lear*.

8. The actual division. There are three forms of the actual division: — (a) half given, half promised; (b) all promised; (c) all given, of which (b) and (c) arise naturally and often independently out of (a) through the desire to abridge.

(a) In Geoffrey the king divides half his land between Gon. and Reg. to their marriage; the other half is to fall

to them at his death. So in MB, MW, GRB, BS, RG, PL, TC, Eul. Hist., Otterb.; Fab., Grft., Hol., Harvey; MfM 87 (Albany with Gon., Camber and Cornwall with Reg.); a slight difference in HH, Le Baud, where Leir gives the North with Reg., the West with Gon., and retains the rest till, as always in (a) and (b), it is taken from him.

(b) In Wace he promises his sons-in-law the whole land, but does not give them any out of hand. This is not very clearly expressed in Wace and becomes less so in Lay. (b) is found in all followers of Wace except Rastell, *viz.*, Lay, RM, FPB, EPB, GR I, Cxt, Wavrin, Warner, MfM 75; and further in PV, NaucI, Herolt, Godet.

(c) In Sh., Lear dispossesses himself of the whole land. So in MS. Reg, GTilb, Joh. Hist, LRB, Tys, Hard, Rous, Bouch, Rast, FQ, OP, Harry, Ballad.

OP adopts the total abdication from FQ, and assigns a motive for it, taken from MfM. Leir resigns his whole land to his sons-in-law in order to exclude Cordella for ever from any share in it. This motive is of course everywhere implied in the actual division, for the whole land being disposed of whether by gift or promise, there remains none for Cor. But there is a development of the idea. In the original, Leir tells Cor., 'nec usquam in regno meo cum tuis sororibus partem habebis'. Cf. Wace, v. 1808f., 'tu n'en avras ja plain pié, ne de tute ma terre un dur' (handsbreadth). FPB by repeating this exclusion of Cor. at that point of the story where Gon. and Reg. are wedded (Wace, v. 1830) makes it plain that this was the reason why Leir actually divided his land. I quote FPB through Cxt: — so the king and the two couples 'ordeyned & spake bytwene hem that they shold departe the royaume bytwene hem twoo after the deth of kyng leyr hyr fadre / so that Cordeill his yongest doughter shold no thyng haue of his land'. From Cxt the repetition passes to MfM, St. 12 and 13. Hence in OP the reason for the abdication (Sc. 3):

. because thou shalt not haue the hope
To haue a child's part in the time to come,
I presently will dispossesse my selfe,
And set vp these vpon my princely throne.

The influence of this passage may be traced at I, i, 140, where with the idea of irrevocably and absolutely disinheriting Cordelia foremost in his mind, Lear hands her coronet to the two dukes for them to divide as a symbol of the division of the whole land:

. which to confirm,
This coronet part between you.

The action of handing over the coronet corresponds to the action of drawing lots in OP, Sc. 6. To OP may be ascribed in preference to any other version in group (c), of which only FQ comes seriously into question, the actual division of the whole land in *King Lear*.

9. Reservation of title. In retaining his royal title, Lear performs, as commentators have noted, a very characteristic action. There is no precedent for this in the versions where the king dispossesses himself of all his land (§ 8, c), but in Hol. (1807 repr., I 196) we read that Lear's ancestor Brute (cf. p. 148) retained his title after dividing Britain between his three sons: 'To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life'.

10. Albany and Cornwall. The difference of character in the two dukes in K. L. is foreshadowed in Lay. in quite a remarkable fashion, and in a much less degree in some other versions. To discover how this comes about we must go back to Geoffrey. At Leir's deposition, we read, 'concordia tamen habita retinuit eum alter generorum Maglaunus dux Albaniae cum LX militibus, ne secum inglorius maneret'. While Maglaunus does this on his own initiative, as it seems, the reduction of the train is the

work of *Gonorilla*, who 'maritum suum affata, jussit patrem obsequio XXX militum contentum esse: relictis ceteris XXX quos habebat'. Thereupon Leir went to Cornwall, was 'a duce honorifice receptus' but within a year Regan 'praecepit patri cunctos socios deserere praeter quinque'. Geoffrey is careful to put the blame of these reductions on the daughters, not their husbands, but it is not clear that he thought of Albany as a better man than Cornwall. Yet some chroniclers take it so. The fact that Alb. was the first to take the deposed king into his household is ascribed to him for good by RG, who writes that these two kings took away this old man's land as their wives bade them, (v. 756 f.),

Ac the king of scotlonde. vor reuthe & for kundhede.
Hym nom to hym in to his hows ageyn ys wyues rede.

And TC at the same point in the narrative styles Albany (v. 3554) a 'Knyght renomyd of gret curtasye'. But neither RG nor TC has anything similar to say in praise of Cornwall. And Wace shows that Alb. did not yield at once to unkind suggestions of Gon., to reduce Leir's retinue (v. 1910 f.: a sun seignur diseit suvent — que deit ceste asemblee d'umes? *etc.*) but coming with Leir to Cornwall he omits 'a duce honorifice receptus' and makes no distinction between duke and duchess (v. 1943 f.: mais n'i out mie un an esté — quant il l'ourent mis en vilté). Thus in three distinct versions of Geoffrey, Gon.'s husband has acquired a better character than Reg.'s husband. — The contrast in Wace is hardly any stronger than in Geoff., but in Lay. it becomes most marked. When Gornouille proposes to her husband, 'in bed as they lay', to send away some of the knights, he tries to dissuade her 'with noble speech: "Lady, thou hast much wrong: hast thou not riches enough? But keep thy father in bliss; he will live no whit long . . . Let we him possess his folk at his will . . for . . we have in our hand the whole half of his kingdom". Then said Gornouille, "Lord, be thou still; leave me to manage, and I will dismiss them".

She sent with her stratagem to the knights' inn; she bade them go their way, for they would no more feed them, many of the thanes, many of the swains, that thither were come with Leir the king' (v. 3285—3353, transl. Madden). How different is the conduct of Cornwall when Regau proposes to reduce the train of thirty to ten! 'Then said Hemeri the duke, who betrayed his old father, "So be I ever alive, he shall not have but five; for there he hath retinue enough, for nought he doth; and if he will hence fare, dismiss we him soon!"' (v. 3392—3399). — In FPB etc., on the other hand, the contrast is almost effaced. There remains to the credit of Gon.'s husband only the fact that when the sons-in-law agreed 'that one of hem shold haue kyng leyr to sojourne al hys lyf tyme', 'managles kyng of Scotland had kyng leyr with hym' (Cxt); but in GR II the husband of the eldest again shows himself to have inherited some part of Alb.'s nobility of character by offering to 'gadery an host' (GR III) to succour Theodosius, to which his wife moves an amendment: it would be sufficient to grant her father five knights. The husband of the second daughter has no such good impulse. — In most of the other versions the two dukes are kept in the background, so that we look in vain for any hint of a difference in their character except in Wauq, Percef, which translate Geoff. word for word. — In OP there is no attempt to differentiate. Both kings appear to sympathise with Leir; fail to see how their wives treat him, and are equally anxious when he silently departs to try his luck with another daughter (Sc. 12, 22). Both take to their heels in the battle-scene, but Cambria, the 'Welshman', under ludicrous circumstances, pursued by the comic hero Mumford with sword and tongue. Cornwall is perhaps somewhat less of a fool than Cambria, whom Ragan, as she says (Sc. 10), rules as she pleases. — There is some resemblance between Albany's weak interposition on Lear's behalf at I, iv, 334 (*Alb.* I cannot be so partial, Goneril, to the great love I bear you — *Gon.* Pray you, content) and that of Cornwall (Gon.'s

husband) in OP, Sc. 10, where he inquires the cause of Leir's sadness (p. 331, l. 3; cf. I, iv, 317: *Alb.* What's the matter, sir?) and after a feeble attempt to pacify Gon. (p. 331, l. 27: Sweet, be not angry in partial¹⁾ cause) *exit* with 'I cannot stay to hear this discord sound'. But there is no similarity at all between Cambria and 'the fiery duke', a touch of whose quality is observable in Lay. — In the characterisation of the two dukes Sh. is nowhere indebted except perhaps for that slight hint from OP. The fact that in several distinct versions Gon.'s husband is a better man than Reg.'s is explained by the trend of the original story; Leir's fortunes going now from bad to worse, if either of the dukes interposes for him it must be the eldest daughter's husband. We shall see (§ 23) that the difference between Gon. and Reg. is predetermined similarly. It is to Lay's credit that he adds effectiveness to the story by giving Reg. a bad man who furthers his wife's base designs, as in Sh., instead of another inert good man, as in OP.

11. **Lear's train.** A survey of some of the questions connected herewith is assisted by this table, in which figures stand for knights, and brackets to figures for a proposed, threatened, or otherwise virtual reduction or restoration.

	<i>In</i>	<i>originally</i>	<i>red. by Gon. to</i>	<i>by Reg. to</i>	<i>by Gon. to</i>	<i>restored by Cor.</i>
Geoff., RG	60		30	5	1	40
Geoff. ed. Asc.	60		30	5	1 ²⁾	60
MB, BS, Perceif	40		20	5	1	40; BS, v. l. 60
Wace	50, v. l. 40,		30	10,5	1	40
	also squires					
Lay	40 (thanes and	30		10,5	1	40
	their swains).					
FPB	40 & their	30 & their	10,5	1		40 & their squires
	squires	squires				
EPB	40 & their	30 & squires	10,5	1		40 with their
	squires					meiny
GR I	40 & their	30 & their	1	1 squire		40
	squires	squires				

¹⁾ *Partiall*, *vnpartiall* are favourite words in OP. Cf. Sc. 1: p. 308, l. 22 and p. 309, l. 9; Sc. 10: p. 331, l. 27; Sc. 14: p. 340, l. 27.

²⁾ By an error, 'ducentis' for 'ceteris', 200 are here sent away.

<i>In</i>	<i>originally</i>	<i>red. by Gon. to</i>	<i>by Reg. to</i>	<i>by Gon. to</i>	<i>restored by Cor.</i>
Cxt 1482	40 & squires	30 & squires (half!)	10,5	1	40 with their meiny
Cxt 1502	60 & squires	30 & squires	10,5	1	40 with their meiny
MfM 75	60 & squires	half	10,5	1 servant	
MfM 87	60	half	10,5	1 servant	
MS. Reg.	40	(10)	(3)	(1)	40
MW	(Leir asks Gon.	and Reg. together, for 40; they offer one			40
Tys	40	10	5	1	40
GRB	30	20	5	1	socios quos exigit regia majestas
PL	40				
TC	40	(30)	(5)	1	40
RM	40	30	20,15	1	
Eul. Hist.	40	30	1		40
Wavrin	40	half	5, v. l. 2	1	grant plente de cheualiers
Hol.		Gon. and Reg. 'scarslie . . would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him'			a certeine number of seruants
Shakespeare	100 (& squires)	50	(25)	(10), (5); Reg. (0); Gon. (0)	(100)
Ballad	20 men	Ragan, the eldest, to	10, 3, 0		a traine of noble Peeres

The considerable divergence in the numbers shown by this table is largely due to a common scribal error, a confusion of .XL. and .LX. In the editions of Geoffrey (Asc., Commel., Giles, San-Marte) the train originally numbers sixty, but the mistake of writing XL for LX must have occurred in some MSS. of Geoff., since fourty is the number in many versions, not interdependent.¹⁾

12. **Institution of the train.** Such reservations as Lear makes (I, i, 131):

¹⁾ The same inaccuracy of the scribes accounts chiefly for the varying length of Lear's reign. In Geoff., MB, Wace, Lay, PL, TC, Higd, Otterb, Godet, he reigns sixty years; in a greater number of versions, forty years: HH, MW, RM, Bouch, Percef, Rast, Lnqt, Grft, Stow, Harvey, Tys, Hol. Hol. also a. m. 3105—3155. In others both 60 and 40: ABev., MS. Reg., Fab. ('.XL. yeres' but from a. m. 4338—4398). Other figures occur: Joh. Hist., a. m. 3080—3094; RG, 30 years, variations due partly to uncertainty how to reckon the interregnum. — Lear, we remember, says he is 'fourscore and upward' (IV, vii, 61).

Ourself, by monthly course,
With reservation of an hundred knights
By you to be sustained, shall our abode
Make with you by due turn.

can only be sought in the versions in group (c) of § 8, where the whole land is voluntarily given up, and are found nowhere but faintly in the Ballad, which follows Sh., and OP. In OP, Sc. 6, after disposing of his kingdom by equal lots, Leir declares:

My selfe will soiorne with my sonne of Cornwall,
And take me to my prayers and my beades.
I know my daughter *Ragan* will be sorry,
Because I do not spend my dayes with her:
Would I were able to be with both at once;
They are the kindest Gyrles in Christendome.

He does not yet contemplate alternate visits. For the idea of these visits by monthly course, added by Shakespeare, cf. the comedy by Hans Sachs, 1552 (see p. 21),¹⁾ and the Gascon folk-tale in Bladé (1886, I, 251ff.), in which the king makes over his land by a deed drawn up by a notary. — 'Notaire, dit-il, je me réserve, pendant toute ma vie, d'aller vivre six mois chez ma fille aînée, et six mois chez la seconde. Ne manque pas de marquer cela sur ton papier'. But the notary, the 'serviceable villain' of this story, omits the condition, and next day the elder daughters turn their father out of the castle.

Nothing could be further from the thoughts of the king in OP than a train of knights, which Sh. adopts from some earlier version. In Geoffrey the retinue is granted the deposed king by Albany as a compensation for the loss of his land, 'ne secum inglorius maueret'. In Sh. alone Lear

¹⁾ In this comedy, by the way, two symptoms of the approaching death of the 'alt reich burger' faintly recall the quondam Quickly: 'Erkalt sind ihm sein füß und knochen . . . Sein nasen war ihm angespitzt'. Cf. HV, II, iv.

makes the reservation himself, and the number is rounded off to a hundred.

There is nothing to suggest any knights, or a retinue, in FQ or in any version but those tabulated in § 12. In Hol. we read only that the governance of the land was reft from Leir 'vpon conditions to be continued for term of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned for him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus'. And the unkindness of his daughters was such 'that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him'. But Cordeilla later arranged for him 'to retaine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as appertained to the estate which he had borne'.

But we need go no further back than MfM; and the description of the train by Gon. as a hundred knights and squires (I, iv, 262) is better evidence than it may at first sight appear, that Sh. had at some time or other looked at Cxt. or MfM 75 (not 87 where and squires is dropped. See the table). Although in Geoffrey, Leir, waiting outside the city until his messenger to Cordeilla, the last knight of the train (cf. § 15) returns, is still accompanied by a squire (quodam armigero), which implies that the other knights (milites) were attended by squires — the anachronism of Norman chivalry among the Britons of the 9th century B. C. was a trifle to Geoffrey — yet squires are first added to the original train by Wace. On the way from Wace to MfM the word *their* is dropped, and in Cxt. 1482 we find instead of fourty knights and their squires (MS. Cott. Dom. A X: .xl. chiualliers & lor esquiers), 'xl. knyghtes and squyers'. And since at the first reduction 'hys knyghtes half & hys squyers from him were gone. & no mo lefte but only .xxx.', the 1502 and subsequent editions have .lx. instead of .xl. Hence MfM 75, from Cxt. 1515: 'threescore

knights and squires' (changed in MfM 87 to 'sixty Knights'). Lear's train is originally 'a hundred knights' (I, i, 132; I, iv, 345, 347, 355; II, iv, 234). To make this objection in any other connection would be ridiculously pedantic, but here such trifles may be important. I can see no other explanation for Gon.'s reference at I, iv, 262 to 'a hundred knights and squires' than that Sh. had read the story in Cxt. or MfM 75.

13. Reductions of the train. The first reduction is by half. Cf. Geoff.: 'Gonorilla . . . jussit obsequio XXX militum contentum esse: relictis ceteris XXX quos habebat'. The versions which start with XL, follow as best they can, either by dismissing 30 as MS. Reg., Tys; retaining 30 as Wace etc., TC, Eul. Hist.; or reducing by half, 40 to 20 as MB, BS, Percefc. Sh. follows the story, through MfM probably, in letting Gon. dismiss half (II, iv, 161: half my train), 50 of the 100. As to the succeeding reductions it may be observed that the numbers 10, 5, 1, found without exception in the series from Wace to MfM (i. e. FPB, EPB, Cxt.) recur in Sh. Cf. II, iv, 264 ff.

Gon. What need you five and twenty, ten, or five

Reg. What need one?

and II, iv, 296, ' . . not one follower', with MfM 75, St. 17: 'So halfe his garde she [Gon.] and her husband refte'; St. 19: [Reg. and Corn.] took all his retinue from him quite, Saue only ten, in disdayne they last alow'd but fiue'; and St. 20: Gon. 'Bereau'de him of his servauntes all saue one, Bad him content him selfe with that, or none'.

Evidently a number of 'supers' were employed to represent the train. The attendants who enter with Lear in I, iv, F₁, must include knights of the hunting-party, as well as servants of Gon.'s household to whom the order for dinner is given (I, iv, 9), for at l. 50 ff. a Knight (F₁; Q₁: servant) takes part in the action and dialogue. Hence Rowe's direction, Enter Lear, Knights and Attendants. At I, iv, 275, Lear gives the order, 'Saddle my horses! Call my train together!' and hastens its execution at l. 280 with 'Prepare my horses!'. Though no exits are marked in any edition consulted

by Furness, yet it must be supposed that these orders, directed to attendants, representatives of the 100, are obeyed. There are still a number left, to whom the order 'Go, go, my people' (I, iv, 294) is given; while l. 311, 'Away, away', where Lear himself goes out, is perhaps addressed to Kent and the Fool. — Here I must express entire disagreement with Koppel's view of this part of the play. Pope, we know, made an utterly inept 'correction' at I, iv, 270, writing 'Of fifty' for 'A little to disquantity your train', because this is the number specified later. I cannot agree with Furness that 'A little' is either an oversight on Sh.'s part, or a trick his memory played him, for Gon. 'with great art is made to avoid mentioning the limited number' (Steevens). Gon. does not dare tell her father what she has done, or even to propose such a reduction as fifty. If her speeches are followed up it will be seen that she grows more and more shameless. She speaks behind Lear's back of his 'dotage' in I, iv, 315 and 349, but not till II, iv, 200 does she call him dotard to his face, and even then in a more guarded way than in other versions (cf. § 23). The text entirely justifies Steevens's comment that Lear learns the exact number, 50, on leaving the scene, between l. 311 and 315. We have heard at l. 275 the order given to call the train together. Unless we make the absurd assumption that the order was not obeyed, time enough will have elapsed during 36 lines for those sent about this business to have accomplished it as far as possible. So that when Lear follows the rest of his hunting-party out, he needs but a moment to learn that during his absence hunting, half his train has been dismissed at Gon.'s orders. At once he comes back in furious indignation: — 'What, fifty of my followers at a clap? Within a fortnight?' This is patent for anyone who reads the text attentively. But Koppel tells us with the utmost confidence (p. 37): — 'In diesen Momenten kann der fassungslos Erregte, unmöglich — wie z. B. [Steevens] Delius, Moberley, Al. Schmidt es annehmen — hinter der Bühne erfahren haben, daß Goneril den Befehl gegeben, 50 von seinen Rittern . . zu entlassen'. Then why does Lear go out and immediately return? Here we have it (p. 36): I, iv, 315 'enthält einen fragenden Ausruf, den Lear an Goneril richtet, indem er, fassungslos und hilflos, nicht wissend wo aus noch ein, nachdem er verzweiflungsvoll hinausgestürzt, nach Augenblicken wieder zurückkehrt'. — I doubt whether Lear is here so 'fassungslos' as this and other parts of Koppel's book tend to make its readers believe.¹⁾ Koppel would have us imagine Lear — this proud old majesty, every inch a king, who has that in his countenance which Kent would fain

¹⁾ Cf. below, § 27.

call Master: authority — reduced by one blow to much the state in which we find him in IV, vi, where he runs from the scene, 'a sight most pitiful in the meanest wretch, past speaking of in a king'. — On this utter misconception of the character of Lear (both the king and the tragedy), Koppel bases a proposal to consider a line lost, both from Q₁ and F₁, between l. 270 and 271, a line in which Gon. may announce how many exactly she requires sent away (Ja ich verlange, daß Ihr fünfzig Eures Diensts entlaßt). Pope's 'correction' is very balm beside this interpolation. A thorough study of the text as it is should precede any attempt at emendation. Koppel does not show that he has — rather, he shows that he has not considered I, iv, 275, 280, 294, 311.

Lear arrives at Gloucester's house with a small number, as appears from Kent's question, II, iv, 64. This question, however, would be senseless, and Kent would indeed have deserved, as the Fool says, to be put in the stocks for it, if Clarke's note to II, iv, 308 (cf. Furness) were correct, that in reality Lear has with him only Kent and the Fool. He has at least one *Gentleman* (F₁; Q₁: *Knight*) who takes part in the dialogue (II, iv, 3, 61); he it is to whom Kent addresses his question. And certainly he is but one of a number, for in agreement with II, iv, 291, 308 we hear of some five or six and thirty of Lear's knights, 'hot questrists after him', meeting the litter at Gloucester's gate (III, vii, 16).

The writer of the ballad who drew all his knowledge of Lear's train from a performance of the play, unless he read Cxt or MfM in addition to Hol. (cf. p. 140), which is not likely, seems to have carried away the impression that Lear was attended by twenty men at first (l. 77). The ballad makes no attempt at accuracy in the details of reductions etc. but 'twenty' shows that a considerable number of 'supers' represented the train.

14. **Pretexts for the reductions.** ' . . . the long list of grievances between Lear's knights and Goneril's household, which gradually extending, at last caused the final rupture between father and daughter'. This comment by Delius (Sh.-Soc. Trans. 1875 6, p. 215) while perhaps placing too much confidence in Gon.'s malicious utterances, exactly fits the original account in Geoffrey. Though there was doubtless some slight ground for Gon.'s complaint, yet 'within a fortnight' the list of grievances could not extend gradually to any great length, and it is Gon. herself who

foments dissension. She gives instructions to her servants, through her steward, I, iii, 22 ff.: —

And let his knights have colder looks among you;
What grows of it, no matter; advise your fellows so.
I would breed from hence occasions, and I shall,
That I may speak.

We may be sure these instructions are zealously carried out; and in the next scene (I, iv, 220) she speaks:

Not only, sir, this your all-licensed Fool,
But other of your insolent retinue
Do hourly carp and quarrel, breaking forth
In rank and not to be endured riots.
(262) Here you do keep a hundred knights and squires,
Men so disorder'd, so debosh'd, and bold,
That this our court, infected with their manners,
Shows like a riotous inn.
(277) You strike my people, and your disorder'd rabble
Make servants of their betters.

In Geoffrey her indignation seems to be well grounded, but the reason for the reduction of half the train is the same: Leir's knights are not satisfied with their treatment, and quarrel with the servants of her household. With the above lines cf. 'Elapso deinde biennio, moram ipso apud generum faciente, indignata est Gonorilla ob multitudinem militum ejus, qui convicia ministris inferebant, quia eis profusior epinomia¹⁾ non praebebatur. Proinde maritum affata, jussit patrem' *etc.*

¹⁾ The sense of this passage is clear, but not so the exact meaning of 'epinomia', a word which in Greek, *ἐπινομία*, means the right of pasturage on commons, but] was never used in Latin. It is not to be found in the glossaries of Ducange, Forcellini, Goetz, Krebs, Saalfeld. Looking for 'epinomia' I stumbled upon what probably explains the word as a corruption of *epimenia*, monthly rations (Juvenal, 7, 120), used in *Gildas de excidio Britanniae* of the monthly tribute exacted by the first English: Item queruntur non affluenter sibi epimenia contribui, occasiones de industria colorantes, et nisi profusior ejus magnificentia cumlaretur, testantur se cuncta Insulae, rupto foedere, depopulatuos (Ducange). The other three editions of Geoff. read as above, but that

Regan's refusal to entertain more than five and twenty knights is based on the following reason (II, iv, 243):

How in one house
Should many people under two commands
Hold amity? 'Tis hard, almost impossible.

The objection is natural enough, but, it seems to me, Reg. had learnt by experience, for in Geoffrey 'non praeteriit annus quin inter utrorumque familias discordia orta fuerit: quamobrem Regan in indignationem versa, praecepit patri cunctos socios deserere praeter quinque, qui ei obsequium praestarent'.

Both these passages are reproduced only in MB, TC, Wauq, Percef, Tys; the first only, in Wace, and indistinctly in Lay; the second only, in BS and GRB. In Percef. the first is closely rendered, but the second so imperfectly that the cause of the second reduction becomes a personal quarrel between Leir and his son-in-law: — 'Et combien quil eust este honnorablement receu du duc de Cornubie, toutesfois il ne se passa pas ung an quil ny eust entre eulx grant discorde pour laquelle cause Ragau fust esmue dune grande indignation contre son pere. Et lui commanda' *etc.*

These pretexts alone would not suffice to show that Sh. was acquainted with the original story, but that is probable from the distribution of two thirds (§ 5) and the titles of the elder daughters' husbands (§ 3). It is very probable, that is, that Sh. knew either Geoff. or some close translation. And now Percef., which alone has kept level with Geoff.,

of Ascenius, 1517, reads 'inferebant & quia sibi profusior Epimonia non praebebatur'. Diefenbach's *Glossarium lat.-germ.* gives *epimonia* as another form of *epimenia*, but the context, altered by Ascenius, whose liberties with the text are denounced by Commelinus, 1587 (Galfredum, ab Ascenio . . multis in locis pro illius arbitrio absque causa mutatum) obscures the meaning completely. *Epimenia* is a neuter plural. The vicinity of *profusior* suggests that Geoffrey picked up the word from Gildas, thence using it incorrectly as a fem. sing. The edition of the Berne MS. of Geoff. promised by J. G. Evans (Text of the *Bruts*, p. XI) will perhaps throw some light on the passage.

falls out of the running. (MB, Tys, Wauq are disqualified.) So that we must conclude that Shakespeare had read either Geoffrey or an unknown close translation.

15. **The last remnant of the train.** The *Gentleman*. Geoffrey is at times none too clear. Leir after the last reduction, he relates, remained with Gon. for a time content with one knight (solo milite contentus). But remembering his former glory and unable longer to endure his wretched state, he crossed over to Gaul. Then comes an ambiguous sentence: 'Sed cum se vidisset tertium inter principes qui simul transfretabant', he began to make his moan. Ascenius makes it clearer by reading, but without authority, apparently, 'Sed cum transfretando se tertium intra nauem inter principes qui aderant aspexisset', etc. The sense is only to be gathered from what follows. Arrived in Gaul, while his 'nuncius', apparently the sole remaining knight, is conferring with Cordeilla, Leir remains outside the city attended only by a squire (quodam armigero). This knight and his squire, then, are Leir's two companions in the ship, while the mysterious princes who have also booked passages on this Dover-Calais packet but are not further mentioned, are only introduced to bring out Leir's jeremiad on his altered fortunes. So RG takes it (v. 779 ff.):

In the ssip other princes. in gret prute he biheld.
& he nadde mid him bote tueie men. him thozte is herte veld.
He thozte on the noblei. that he hadde in ybe.
He wep the terus ronne doun that deol it was to se.

So too Wauq (fol. 104, l. 30 ff.): — 'Mais comme il fuist en mer lui iii / en une nef en la quelle auoit plusieurs nobles hommes et princes qui la menoient grande et somptueux estat,' etc. TC is a trifle more puzzling than Geoffrey (cf. p. 56). Percef omits *tertium*: — 'quant il se vit dedans la nef entre les princes qui la estoient'; and all the rest omit *principes*. Eul Hist. evokes the lament in a different way: — 'cum terram Francorum aspexisset, cum fletu et singultu in haec verba prorupit:' etc. Where *se tertium*

is retained, it is generally rendered as in RG and Wauq, namely' in MS. Reg.: sei terz sen est ale atant; GRB: vixque duo comitantur eum; Wavrin: se parti lui troizime de chevaliers. Tys I can only quote through Roberts, whose translation will probably prove to be inaccurate: 'when he was on board and saw but three knights with him'. Thompson renders Geoffrey as follows: — 'In the passage, he observed that he had only the third place given him among the princes that were with him in the ship' (quoted from Craig, K. L. 1901, p. XL).

It is a remarkable thing that this modern English rendering of Geoffrey, to judge from the extracts given and 'revised' by Craig p. XXXVI—XLI) falls far behind the mediaeval translations in point of accuracy. By comparison with it, even stupid Perceforest acquires at times a scholarly aspect. Thompson renders 'LX militibus' by 'sixty soldiers', though *miles* in mediaeval Latin is the regular word for *knight* (cf. Ducange *a. h. v.*; *Milites de Balneis*, *Milites Tabulae Rotundae*, etc.) and is so understood in all early versions of the story, French (chevaliers) English (knights), Norse (riddara), Welsh (Roberts: knights). Again, 'quodam armigero' by 'a soldier who had formerly been his standard-bearer' (Craig, p. XXXIII, cf. p. XLVII). Why 'standard-bearer' (vexillarius, signifer)? *Armiger* is of course *squire*. The editor of the *Oxford Shakespeare*, I am sure, remembers the pride with which Squire Shallow, J. P., Robert Shallow, esquire, 'writes himself *armigero*' (MWW, I, i). These two blunders would be pardonable in a schoolboy, who would, however, at bodily risk perpetrate such 'howlers' as 'the ministers of the court' for 'ministris', and 'between the two families' for 'inter utrorumque familias'. 'To his former daughter' for 'ad primogenitam' is noticed by Craig. But where does 'Leir as saith the story, in three years obtained the throne' (p. XL) come from? Cf. Geoff.: 'cum omnes in potestatem suam redeisset, tertio post anno mortuus est'.

In MW the messenger to Cordeilla is not identical with the knight, but is a new figure (indicante nuncio quod cum solo milite et uno armigero adventasset). And in TC Leir crosses the sea with but one man (v. 3694), identical with the 'swayn' (3830) or 'sqwyer' (3832) who remains with him 'wythout the cite', while the 'messynger' sent into 'parice' to the queen has no credentials. This is no improvement,

for Cordeilla gives the 'nuncius' a commission of great importance, such as could not be entrusted to a haphazard messenger. In fact so great is the confidence reposed in him that Wavrin substitutes for Leir's 'nuncius' a friend of the queen's (un sien ami), and MS. Reg. her 'chambrelein',¹⁾ much as in Q₁ the *Gentleman* of F₁ is replaced by a *Doctor* (IV, iv; IV, vii). But in MS. Reg., instead of knight and squire, Leir

Od sei ne menat compaignun
Fors vn esquier e vn garcun

(One is obliged to think of Kent and the Fool). In Wace and followers, Leir has but one companion, a squire. Hence in GR I the reductions are altered to match: the second to one knight, and then in Scotland 'they tokyn away the knyght, and putt to hym a squyere' (cf. Table, § 11).

In Shakespeare these two faithful attendants in the original story, companions to Leir in his exile and destitution, namely, the last remaining knight who is the intermediary between Leir and Cordeilla, and the squire who meanwhile waits with Leir outside the city, are represented by the *Gentleman* (in F₁ the resemblance is much stronger than in Q₁, an important fact, to which I return presently, for the relationship of the two texts), and Kent (cf. § 17). Here must be read an extract from Geoffrey, starting late in the lament:

'Sed qua fronte, carissima filia, te audebo adire, qui ob praedicta verba iratus putavi de deterius maritare quam sorores tuas, quae post tot beneficia, quae eis impendi, me exulem et pauperem esse patiuntur?'
Ut tandem haec et his similia dicendo applicuit, venit Karitiam, ubi filia sua erat. Expectans autem extra urbem, misit ei nuncium suum, qui indicaret ipsum in tantam miseriam collapsum, et quia non habebat

¹⁾ Milton, too, makes a similar change in his translation of Geoffrey: — Cordeilla . . . not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her trusted Servants, first to convey him privately toward some good Sea Town, *etc.* (History of Britain, 1677, p. 26.)

quod comederet aut indueret, misericordiam filiae petebat. Quo indicato commota est Cordeilla, et flevit amare, quaesivitque quot milites secum haberet; qui respondit ipsum neminem habere, excepto quodam armigero, qui foris cum eo expectabat. Tunc illa cepit quantum opus erat auri et argenti, deditque nuncio praecipiens ut patrem ad aliam civitatem duceret, ibique ipsum infirmum fingeret, et balnearet, indueret et foveret. Jussit etiam ut quadraginta milites bene indutos et paratos retineret, et tunc demum mandaret regi Aganippo et filiae suae sese advenisse. Nuncius illico reversus direxit Leirum regem ad aliam civitatem, absconditque eum ibi donec omnia quae Cordeilla jusserat perfecisset. — (Cap. XIII) Mox ut regio apparatu et ornamentis et familia insignitus fuit, mandavit Aganippo et filiae suae, sese a generis suis expulsum esse e regno Britanniae, et ad ipsos venisse ut auxilio eorum patriam suam recuperare valeret. — (Leir's noble reception by Aganippus, and his restoration are then related.)

Although in Shakespeare the circumstances of the reconciliation are very much modified by the addition of Lear's madness, Cordelia's presence in Britain, etc., yet the duties of the 'nuncius' are clearly to be traced, I think, in the part allotted to the *Gentleman* or *Knight* in F₁. At I, iv and IV, vi, 192 and perhaps at II, iv, and IV, vii, 21, a number of knights are brought on the scene (cf. p. 192), but nowhere in the play has more than one representative of the train a speaking part. The difference of designation must be noticed: — I, iv, F₁ *Knight*, Q₁ *Servant*; I, v, F₁ *Gent.*, Q₁ *Servant*; II, iv, F₁ *Gent.*, Q₁ *Knight*; III, i, F₁ Q₁ *Gent.*; (IV, iii, Q₁ *Gent.*); IV, iv, F₁ *Gent.*, Q₁ *Doctor*; IV, vi, F₁ Q₁ *Gent.*; IV, vii, F₁ *Gent.*, Q₁ *Doct.* and l. 23 *Gent* (Q₂ *Kent*). The text does not oblige us to consider the Knight or Gentleman of I, iv and v, and II, iv the same, but it is natural to do so; there is nothing against it; and as these small parts were almost certainly taken by the same actor, the audience would probably recognise him as the same Gentleman or Knight. It is natural too that the Gentleman whom Kent has noted (III, i, 17—19, 41) should be he who in the earlier scenes was prominent in zealous attachment to his master. And the Gentlemen of III, i; IV, iv, vi, and vii in F₁, are identical. So that as far as

F₁ is concerned, the Knight or Gentleman, the representative of the train, is one and the same throughout the play.

If now we compare his part in the play with the part of the solitary knight, the last remnant of the original train in Geoffrey, who having attended on Leir through all his misfortune, becomes the 'nuncius' to Cordeilla, and is entrusted by her with such grave responsibilities, it will be seen that the similarity of the two figures goes beyond chance resemblance, and in fact without the aid of the original story it is difficult to understand why in F₁ the most important office of nursing Lear back to sanity should be entrusted to a *Gentleman*.

The ill-treatment of Lear having reached its climax this Gentleman is sent, not by the king, who is mad, but by Kent who acts for him, on a secret mission to the town in which Cordelia is to be found (III, i). To him Cordelia gives her orders for what in Sh. corresponds to the restoration of the train (cf. § 16). Her words (IV, iv, 10), 'he that helps him, take all my outward worth' seem to contain a reminiscence of 'cepit quantum opus erat auri et argenti deditque nuncio'. He and Cordelia agree upon means necessary to counteract the effect of Lear's suffering (in Sh. alone, his loss of reason); how to provoke repose in him, and how much sleep is necessary, are matters left entirely to his judgment (IV, iv, 10 ff.; vii, 19). An interval elapses before Cor. has her wish soon to see Lear (IV, iv, 30), during which the Gentleman goes back to his master, coming upon him outside the town; takes charge of him (IV, vi, 192), procures him the repose which he lacked, and during his sleep (which corresponds to the sojourn in another town in Geoffrey), before Cordelia sees him, arrays him in fresh garments (cf. regio apparatu et ornamentis). In the *Servants* who then bring in Lear to Cor.'s presence we may perhaps see members of the restored train (familia insignitus). Cf. Servant in Q₁ for Knight or Gentleman in I, iv and v.

In Q_1 the place of the Gentleman in IV, iv and vii, is taken by a *Doctor*, and music to awaken the king is added, while Kent's envoy completes his part in the story with a report to Kent of his interview with Cor. in a scene (IV, iii) only found in the QQ. And the Gentleman in IV, vi and vii, Q_1 is another person who does not know Kent, although apparently present when Cor. addresses him as 'Kent' and 'my good lord' (IV, vii, 1, 12). Cf. IV, vii, 90 with III, i, 48. — The substitution of the *Doctor* is not an unqualified improvement, for in Q_1 the order to send forth a century is apparently addressed to the Doctor, as in F_1 it certainly is to the Gentleman (IV, iv, 6). Malone's attempt to surmount the difficulty by a direction at l. 11 *Exit an officer*, though generally accepted, is not satisfactory, for the words 'seek, seek for him' (l. 18) are plainly addressed to the same person, namely to the Doctor. Yet it is a Gentleman who in IV, vi finds Lear, and clearly the sending forth of a century is not a doctor's work. Notice, too, in the QQ the difficulty of assigning IV, vii, 23 f. These difficulties do not exist in F_1 where the two offices are united in the Knight or Gentleman as in Geoffrey. Which proves that for the two scenes IV, iv and IV, vii we have in Q_1 a text representing a later recension than F_1 . A corollary to this is that IV, iii, not found in F_1 , did not form part of the first draft. The recognition of the Gentleman of F_1 as the 'nuncius' in Geoffrey thus necessitates a re-examination of the whole question of the relationship of the two texts, for the deductions just stated do not fit in with the theories of Staunton, Delius, Koppel (cf. Furness, p. 361 ff.), Herford (p. 6) or Craig (p. XV).¹⁾ But I cannot here go any further into this question. See § 20.

¹⁾ The latest special investigation is that of Koppel who arrives at the following conclusion: 'The *original* form was, essentially, that of the Quarto, then followed a *longer* form, *with the additions in the Folio*... then the shortest form, as it is preserved for us in the Folio'. (Furness, p. 365).

The only probable authority for this personage is Geoffrey. MfM, Hol., FQ, OP omit entirely. In Cxt. the same duties are performed by the 'squyer', who is Leir's only follower to France.

16. Restoration of the train. In Geoffrey Cor. orders 40 knights to be in attendance on her father. Perhaps the number should be sixty as in Ascenius and BS, for it seems only natural that the train should be restored to its original proportions. In most versions, the numbers agree, 40 in both cases. Some make additions to show that Leir has now the same honour as at first, e. g. Lay gives him as before 'hundes & hauekes & durewurthe horses' (3560); LRB: 'se turnast de genz e de chivauz, cum il soleit estre' (the only reference to the train in LRB).

I will not go so far as to suggest that Sh. added 60 to 40 to make his 100, but I think the order (IV, iv, 8) 'A century send forth . . and bring him to our eye' may be taken as reproducing faintly the restoration of the train, if we consider the attendant circumstances discussed in § 15. Of course if F₁ Centery, Q₁ centurie stand for *sentry* as Craig says, following Johnson, I cannot make my point. But surely 'sentry' makes no sense. Cor. is in great anxiety (IV, iv, 18): 'seek, seek for him, Lest his ungoverned rage dissolve the life, That wants the means to lead it'. Under such circumstances it would be strange to send forth a *sentry* to 'search every acre of the high-grown field' (l. 8). 'Century' is to be taken not as a division of the French army, but rather as a hundred knights (cf. Holland's Livy, c. 1600, I, xiii: 'three centuries of Gentlemen or Knightes'. NED), of whom the five or six and thirty 'hot questrists' who follow Lear to Dover in III, vii, form the nucleus; for in IV, vi, where the order is executed, we have in Q₁ the direction *Enter three Gentlemen* (F₁ a Gentleman). There must be others supposed at hand to take charge of Lear when he runs out (IV, vi, 208), or the supposed sentry could not calmly remain and tell Edgar the news. The 'traine of

noble Peeres, in brave and gallant sort' of the Ballad (l. 153) is hardly justified by Hol., and points to some display of the restored train either in IV, vi or at IV, vii, 20.

17. **Kent.** The Cinderella-variants show that the figure of Kent is, in a sense, an organic development of the Lear-story. It is an axiom with the folk-tales that somebody or something (mother, nurse, witch, etc., down to birds and bees) must come to the aid of injured innocence, the Out-cast Child. Often it is the servant commissioned by the king to take her (or him) into the forest and kill her, who disobeying orders saves her life, finds her a disguise, etc., till Fortune smiles once more. In this way the life of Edgar's original, Leonatus, is saved in the *Arcadia*, and, better, Imogen's life by old Pisanio in *Cymbeline*. Wherever the blame rests entirely on the father, and of course when as in the Catskin type he is the villain of the story, he gets no help. But when more sinned against than sinning, he too gets help, as the friend's advice in the Schimpf und Ernst tale (cf. p. 22). It is then but a step to unite the two offices of helper to daughter and to father in one person, the trusty servant. Thus in the Gascon tale (Cox 211) to which I have already gone for an illustration (cf. p. 188), though Shakespeare's influence is out of the question, yet blunt, far-sighted, practical Kent greets us like an old friend. The resemblance is no less striking than the want of it. *Idem sed alius.*

In this tale the king has, in addition to his love of salt, and his three daughters, a servant 'aussi avisé comme il n'y en a guère'. One day, while this servant is kneading in the bakehouse, the king comes to him with a secret. "Valet, tu es un homme de sens. Je veux te consulter sur une affaire fort secrète. — Maître, je n'aime pas les secrets." He will listen if the king promises to tell no one else. — "Valet, j'ai trois filles à marier. Je suis vieux, et je ne veux plus être roi. Quand tu auras fini de pétrir, va me quérir le notaire. Je veux me réduire à une pension, et partager mon bien entre mes trois filles. — Maître, à votre place je ne ferais pas cela. — Pourquoi, valet? — Maître, celui qui n'a plus rien est bien vite

méprisé. A votre place je garderais ma terre, et je doterais mes filles raisonnablement, le jour de leur mariage. — Valet, mes filles m'aiment. Je ne crains rien. — Maître, mettez-les à l'épreuve avant de vous décider." Le roi monta dans sa chambre, et commanda qu'on y fit venir ses trois filles. "M'aimes-tu?" dit-il à l'aînée'. More than anything in the world; the second likewise. — "Bien, et toi, ma dernière, m'aimes-tu? — Père, je vous aime comme vous aimez le sel. — Méchante langue! Tu insultes ton père. Rentre dans ta chambre." The elder daughters persuade him she merits death. He goes to the bakehouse again, and bids his man fetch the notary and the executioner. — "Maître, les paroles sont des femelles; mais les actes sont des mâles. Votre épreuve n'est pas bonne. A votre place, je jugerais mes filles sur ce qu'elles feront, et non pas sur ce qu'elles ont dit. — Tais-toi, valet. Tu ne sais pas ce que tu dis. Tais-toi, ou je t'assomme à coups de bâton." Then a change: this Kent disguises, not his person, but his sentiments. — "Eh bien, maître, j'ai tort. Vous parlez comme un livre. Faites à votre volonté. Je vais aller quérir le notaire et je veux servir moi-même de bourreau à votre dernière fille. Je la mènerai dans un bois, je la tuerai, et je vous rapporterai sa langue." The king marries his elder daughters and gives each half his kingdom, on conditions of maintenance which the notary omits (cf. p. 188). And the servant leads off the heroine by a chain around her neck, whistling up his dog, which will have to lose its tongue. He gives the heroine a disguise, and finds her employment as goose-girl at a neighbouring king's castle. The father is turned out of his castle next day. On the threshold he finds his trusty servant who insists on serving him still. With the money given him to murder the heroine he buys a farm. — "Maître, cette petite métairie est la vôtre. Buvez, mangez, chassez, promenez-vous, tandis que je travaillerai les champs et les vignes. — Merci, valet. Il y a force maîtres qui ne te valent pas." Meanwhile the usual Cinderella adventures for the heroine: the ball, threefold flight, lost slipper, lovesick prince, whom she will not marry without her father's consent. He, on his part, often thinks of her. 'Vingt fois par jour il disait: — "Mes deux filles aînées sont des carognes, et mes gendres de mauvais sujets. Si j'avais ma dernière enfant, elle me tiendrait compagnie, tout en me filant des chemises, et en rapiécant mes habits." The servant explains. They set out for the neighbour king's castle, seven days' walk. Restoration. Villain-Nemesis: 'Ces deux carognes furent pendues avec leurs maris, et leurs corps ne furent pas portés en terre sainte'. Marriage-feast.

The corresponding figure in the Lear-story first takes definite shape in OP. Perillus, who perhaps owes his position

as counsellor to *Gorboduc* (cf. p. 109), also combines, at least virtually, the two offices of helper to outcast heroine and to oppressèd king. In Sc. 6 he declares his intention to strain forth each drop of his heart's blood in Cordella's service, but we have to take the will for the deed. Cordella, indeed, does very well by herself (cf. p. 112), and Perillus devotes to his master all the little energy he possesses.

So much Kent and Perillus have in common: — each is a counsellor who attempts to dissuade the king from his fatal purpose; excites his anger by interceding for the heroine; presents himself to his master at the moment when the latter, at Gon.'s court, suffers the first shock of her infidelity (Sc. 10: p. 332, l. 21; I, iv, 10); and is afterwards a faithful attendant upon the king throughout his distress. But they are as little alike in temperament as their respective kings. Perillus is as far from being 'unmannerly' as is his master from going mad. He is effectually silenced by Leir's threat (Sc. 6.):

Vrge this no more, and if thou loue thy life.

Who euer speaketh hereof to mee againe

I will esteeme him for my mortall foe.

with which Lear's 'Kent, on thy life, no more' (I, i, 194) has often been connected; and Kent's direct and passionate protest (I, i, 141—169) is represented in OP by the tame reflection which Perillus remains to utter at the end of Sc. 3:

Oh, how I grieue, to see my Lord thus fond,
To dote so much vpon vayne flattering words.

Ah, if he but with good aduice had weyghed
The hidden tenure of her humble speech,
Reason to rage should not haue giuen place,
Nor poore *Cordella* suffer such disgrace.

Physically, too, the contrast is complete. Perillus is 'as old as' Leir, his 'faynting limmes' no better able to endure fatigue than the 'aged lymmes' of his lord (Sc. 14); they both *reele* when the assassin bids them 'stand' (Sc. 19). But

Kent gives his age as 48 (I, iv, 42; while Lear is over 80, IV, vii, 61), and though doubtless somewhat older (cf. gray beard, old, ancient, reverent, too old to learn, II, ii, 69, 91, 134f.) may well be younger by a generation than Lear, whom he has ever loved as his father (I, i, 143); and is of great bodily activity and strength (cf. V, iii, 211: his strong arms). In his remaining in attendance on Lear while the Gentleman goes off on his errand to Cordelia, Kent resembles that *certain squire* in Geoffrey, and the conjecture may be hazarded that the new figure of Kent the counsellor in his romantic disguise grew out of a fusion of Perillus and the *armiger*.

18. **Goneril's Steward.** First a complaint. Modern editions, all, I believe, since Collier, force their readers into an intimacy with this personage which is not required by the original texts. His proper name happens to be Oswald; Goneril calls him by it three times in F₁ (I, iv, 336, 350, 357), once in Q₁ (I, iv, 357), and in the latter text it creeps into the speech-headings at this place, twice (l. 356, 358). No one but Goneril 'worthies' him in this way. To Regan he is simply her 'sister's man' (V, i, 5). Lear and Kent have a number of fancy titles for him. But in F₁ he is designated throughout in directions and speech-headings, some 46 times, as *Steward*, *Stew.*, carefully 'corrected' each time by editors to *Oswald*, *Osw.*, but with not much better reason than if they were to call the *Clown* in *All's Well*, *Lavatch* (cf. V, ii, 1). Here I shall take a hint from Kent (II, ii, 70) and for brevity refer to him as Z.

The effect of the first reduction on Leir is expanded in Wace from 'rex iratus' in Geoffrey. When Gonorille (v. 1935f.) 'de cinquante le mist a trente, de vint li retailla sa rente', Wace writes (v. 1937 ff.):

et li pere ce desdeigna
grant aviltance li sembla
que si l'aveient fait descendre

[Le Roux de L. reads 'l'avait-on']

In the prose paraphrase, FPB, the unexpressed plural subject of 'aveient' becomes the indefinite singular 'homme': — 'Quant ceo fut feit leir deuint si dolent que sa condicioun fust issint empire & que homme li tint si vil quil ne sauait quei dire'. In the English translations 'homme' is rendered by 'men'. In GR I: — 'leyre he come right heuy, and his meany, that that was putt away and his state apayred, therefore men had hym in the lesse reuerence' And in EPB (I quote Cxt.): — '& whan this was doone, leyr bygan for to make moche sorow for encheson that his estate was empeyred / and men had of hym more scorne & despite / than euer they had bifore / wher for he nyst what for to done'. Passing from Cxt. into MfM these 'men' take more definite shape. MfM. 75, St. 12:

Eke as in Scotlande thus he lay lamenting fates,
When as his daughter so sought all his vtter spoyle:
The meaner vpstart courtiers [87: gentles] thought themselues
his mates,

And betters eke, see here an aged Prince his foyle.
[87: His daughter him disdayn'd and forced¹⁾ not his foyle.]

In OP (from MfM 87) at the same point of the story Perillus tells us in a monologue (Sc. 8) that Gonorill

sets her Parasites of purpose oft,
In scoffing wise, to offer him disgrace.
Oh yron age! O times! O monstrous, vilde,
When parents are contemned of the child!
His pension she hath halfe restrain'd from him.

In Sh. we have the full-blown parasite, described by Kent with great exactitude (II, ii, 13 ff.). What is merely narrated in OP, Sh. puts into effective action; he shows us Gon. setting her parasite to offer Lear disgrace (I, iii, 9 ff.):

If you come slack of former services,
You shall do well; the fault of it I'll answer.
.....
Put on what weary negligence you please,
You and your fellows.

¹⁾ Cf. *Lucrece* 1021: I force not argument a straw (NED).

An order which Z proceeds to carry out in the next scene, 'in scoffing wise' (cf. I, iv, 49, 59, 88) until Kent checks him with a well-deserved lesson. Clearly Sh. took this hint from OP rather than from MfM.

On Z as 'serviceable villain' (IV, vi, 257) is incumbent much of the parts in OP of Skalliger and the Messenger or Murderer, two characters which are practically one (cf. p. 112). Skalliger is taken into Gonorill's service and confidence, is like Z, 'of her bosom'¹⁾ (IV, v, 26) appearing in Sc. 9 in consultation with his mistress as to the best means of getting rid of Leir, of whose daily 'quips and peremptory taunts' (Sc. 9, l. 3) she complains, apparently without cause, to Skal. as does Gon. to Z in I, iii (cf. particularly l. 6, 'himself upbraids us on every trifle', and l. 3, with the quotation from OP in § 23). And as Z is the bearer of a letter from Gon. to Reg., so in OP Gon. employs the Messenger to take her letter to Rag. These two letters (to discuss them now) are of much the same import. In Goneril's letter there is a warning against the danger, exaggerated, rather than entirely feigned (cf. Lear's threat, I, iv, 330—333) of keeping Lear with his hundred knights (I, iv, 346—354). The letter thus slanders the king; it is meant to justify Gon.'s action; it advises Reg. of her sisters plan of campaign against their father, so that they may 'hit together', —

If she sustain him and his hundred knights,
When I have show'd th'unfitness —

So in OP, Gonorill's letter of 'slander, scandall, and invented tales' (Sc. 12: p. 336, l. 1) warns Ragan against the danger (entirely feigned) of keeping Leir, since he, among other

¹⁾ There is nothing in K. L., to my knowledge, beyond this expression, that could give Adeë (l. c. p. LX) the idea of 'Goneril's hinted infidelity with her steward Oswald, of which we have a broader glimpse in' OP. But 'I know you are of her bosom' means only 'in her confidence' (Wright). There is much against Adeë's idea. Would such a woman kill herself for love of Edmund?

misdeemeanours, 'hath made mutinyes amongst the commons' (p. 337, l. 25), 'stirring up the Commons gainst the King' (Sc. 15: p. 342, l. 9); this letter is thus to make Ragan act in concord with her sister,

To driue my sister out of loue with him
And cause my will accomplished to be.

(p. 337, l. 29f.); though its chief object is to justify Gonorill (p. 336, l. 2—5) lest possibly — a very remote contingency — Ragan should take Leir's part and, as Perillus assures him (Sc. 10: p. 334, l. 9f.), 'practise ere't be long, By force of Armes for to redresse [his] wrong', an illusion which Lear cherishes of Regan (I, iv, 328ff.):

Who, I am sure, is kind and comfortable.
When she shall hear this of thee, with her nails
She'll flay thy wolvisch visage. Thou shalt find
That I'll resume the shape which thou dost think
I have cast off for ever; . . .

Z is to supplement the letter by word of mouth (I, iv, 360):

Inform her full of my particular fear,
And thereto add such reasons of your own
As my compact it more.

So in OP, the Messenger having assured Gon. that he has a 'bad tongue', a good command of 'Billingsgate', she declares him 'a fit man for my purpose' and bids him corroborate the slanders in her letter (p. 337, l. 26):

These things (although it be not so)
Yet thou must affirme them to be true,
With othes and protestations.

Z manages to get his letter from Gon. read before Kent his from Lear (II, iv, 28—34). In OP Gon. intercepts her husband's 'Poste', to be dispatched in the interests of Leir's safety, and turns him into her own Messenger, substituting the 'letters' to her sister 'which contayne matter quite contrary to the other' (p. 337, l. 20). Thus in both plays the

letter to Reg. favourable to the king is supplanted by one unfavourable.

This interception by Gonorill has a parallel in the interception of Z with Gon.'s letter to Edmund, by Regan; but whereas Gonorill easily overcomes the Messenger's scruples by her 'sweet persuasions' (p. 336, l. 10—20), Z resists Reg.'s cajolery (IV, v, 21 f.). Regan then makes Z the bearer of a 'note' (l. 29, 33) to Edmund from herself, of which we hear no more. It appears that Reg. wished to substitute her note for Gon.'s letter. She would certainly have done so, had she been allowed to unseal that letter. Thus the parallel is complete, but that in OP the substitution succeeds, in Sh. fails.

Further, Z is incited, bribed, by Regan, to murder Gloucester, IV, v, 37 f.:

If you do chance to hear of that blind traitor,
Preferment falls on him that cuts him off.

He comes upon the 'proclaim'd prize', IV, vi, 230, but is hindered in the attempt to 'raise [his] fortunes' by Edgar. In OP, the Messenger is bribed by Ragan, with a purse of gold for each, to murder both Leir and Perillus (who have something in common with Gloucester, cf. § 19), but is moved from his purpose. The idea of having Leir murdered originates with Gonorill, but the dramatist is careful to share the blame. That of murdering Perillus, on the contrary, belongs entirely to Ragan. Neither Z nor the Messenger returns, of course. Regan and Ragan both wonder why, cf. K. L. V, i, 5 and OP, Sc. 25: p. 377, l. 5.

Finally, in both plays the daughter (Gon. in Sh.; in OP primarily Ragan, though Gon. wrote it) is confronted with this incriminating letter, left in each case with the intended victim, and the accompanying action has been remarked by Steevens and many others. The effect it produces hardly comes up to expectations. Cf. K. L. V, iii, 154 ff.: —

- Alb.* Shut your mouth, dame,
 (a) Or with this paper shall I stop it. — Hold, sir;
 (b) (c) Thou worse than any name, read thine own evil. —
 (d) No tearing, lady; I perceive you know it.
 (e) *Gon.* Say if I do, the laws are mine, not thine.
 Who can arraign me for't? [*Exit*
Alb. Most monstrous! Oh! —
 (c) Know'st thou this paper? [*to Edmund*

with OP, Sc. 30: p. 384, l. 20 ff.: —

- (b) *Leir* Out on thee, viper, scum, filthy parricide,
 More odious to my sight then is a Toade:
 (c) Knowest thou these letters?
 (d) [*She snatches them & teares them*
 (e) *Rag.* Think you to outface me with your paltry scrowles?

and p. 383, l. 30 f.:

- (a) *Cam.* Thy slaunders to our noble vertuous Queenes
 Weel in the battel thrust them down thy throate.

19. **Gloucester.** The *Old Man* in IV, i. Some slight transference from *Leir* and *Perillus* of OP to Gloucester seems to have taken place. The introduction of the Old Man in IV, i, may be due to Shakespeare's unwillingness to lose entirely the pathos, of which OP makes so extensive use (Sc. 10, 14, 19) in the spectacle of one old man in utter distress being led and comforted by another, a faithful vassal of no less age and infirmity. The likelihood of this is increased when we recall that at the last scene-end a Servant was to find the Bedlam to lead Gloucester, and that here Edgar presents himself of his own accord.¹⁾ Cf. K. L., IV, i, 14 ff.: —

Old Man. O my good lord,
 I have been your tenant, and your father's tenant,
 These fourscore years.

¹⁾ It does not show a commendable attitude to call such apparent contradictions to readers of K. L., as Koppel does (p. 68), 'entschiedene Mängel'. The explanation of this 'decided fault' is of course that III, vii, 103f. prepare the audience for the important incident of Edgar's meeting with his blinded father, and pass over the minor incident, inserted apparently for the reason above stated.

Glou. Away, get thee away; good friend, be gone;
Thy comforts can do me no good at all;
Thee they may hurt.

(l. 49) Do as I bid thee, or rather do thy pleasure;

and l. 51, the Old Man's intention to help, 'come on't what will', with Leir's attitude towards Perillus from Sc. 14 (cf. p. 115) and Sc. 10: p. 333, l. 4, *Per.*

I well do know, in course of former time
How good my lord hath bin to me and mine.

(p. 333, l. 11) *Leir.* Did I ere gine thee liuing, to increase
The due reuennues which thy father left?

(p. 332, l. 27) *Leir.* Ah, good my friend, how ill art thou aduisde
For to consort with miserable men.

Go, learn to flatter,

Perillus shares with Leir the risk of assassination (Sc. 19). The danger exists in the *Arcadia* as well, but there no one has the pluck of this Old Man: 'no bodie daring to shewe so much charitie, as to lende me a hande to guide my darke steppes: Till this sonne of mine . . . not recking the danger' . . . (ed. Sommer, L. 1891, p. 144). — Gloucester is to 'pray that the right may thrive' (V, ii, 2) in the battle. Similarly in OP Cordella, Leir, and Perillus promise to pray 'that victory may prosecute the right' (Sc. 30: p. 383, l. 9). — For the connection between Gloucester and Leir in OP, cf. K. L. IV, i:

Edgar *solus*; enter Gloucester led by the Old Man; Edgar sees them and recognises his father (at once, of course) IV, i, 9:

But who comes here?

My father, poorly led? World, world, O world!
But that thy strange mutations make us hate thee,
Life would not yield to age.

Glou. laments his injustice to Edgar (l. 21—26) thus revealing to the latter his changed feelings towards him. Glou. recalls that the sight of Poor Tom the previous night brought his son into his mind (34—36). Later, Edgar in peasant-disguise, still unknown to Glou., addresses him repeatedly as 'father' (IV, vi, 72, 223, 260, 293; V, ii, 1. It will be remembered that in the *Arcadia* Leonatus is never unknown

to his blind father); he relates (V, iii, 193—9) how he at length revealed himself and asked his father's blessing,

but his flaw'd heart,
Alack, too weak the conflict to support
'Twixt two extremes of passion, joy and grief,
Burst smilingly.

with OP, Sc. 24:

Cordella with Gallia and Mumford; enter Leir and Perillus 'very faintly'; the others stand aside and overhear their talk; Cordella remembers the voice, yet does not recognise her father in his mariner-disguise until Leir laments his injustice to Cordella; who then exclaims (p. 371, l. 1):

Alack, that euer I should liue to see
My noble father in this misery.

Without revealing herself — she is disguised in peasant-dress — she addresses Leir as 'father'¹⁾ (p. 371, l. 19), 'Ah, good old father' (p. 372, l. 29). He replies (l. 31):

Ah, good young daughter; I may call thee so,
For thou art like a daughter I did owe.

She makes herself known at last. The subsequent action of alternate kneeling to ask for blessing or forgiveness was first noticed by Steevens as recurring in K. L., IV, vii, 57—59. And cf. V, iii, 10, *Lear*:

When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness.

Here the two plays diverge entirely. While Glou. on recognising Edgar, dies like the father of Leonatus,²⁾ Leir implores on Cordella 'the blessing which the God of *Abraham*

¹⁾ If Lloyd's surmise (cf. p. 110f.) is as well-founded as it appears to me, Sh. used these 'confusions' with comic effect long before he contemplated *King Lear*. Cf. Mer. of Ven. II, ii, where Launcelot addresses old 'gravel-blind' Gobbo repeatedly as 'father', then revealing himself as his son, kneels to ask his blessing.

²⁾ With V, iii, 196—9, quoted above, cf. *Arcadia*, p. 147: — 'the blind King (hauing . . . set the crowne vpon his sonne Leonatus head) with many tears (both of ioy and sorrow) setting forth . . . euen in a moment died, as it should seeme: his hart broken with vnkindness & affliction, stretched so farre beyond his limits with this excesse of comfort, as it was able no longer to keep safe his roial spirits'.

gaue unto the tribe of *Juda*': may her days be multiplied that she may see her children's children prosper after her (p. 376, l. 1—14). Which sounds little bitter irony when we read of her fate in the chronicle (cf. § 25).

Although in some cases the resemblance may be accidental, it must be clear from the instances adduced in this and the preceding §, that the part played by OP in shaping Shakespeare's plot was by no means inconsiderable. But there can be no talk of 'imitation', an ill-chosen word used by some of the older editors (e. g. by Steevens, cf. Furness, p. 302). 'The distance is always immeasurable between the hint and the fulfilment' (Furness, p. 383). I have quoted above the exclamation of Edgar on recognising Gloucester, corresponding (if the word may be applied to two things so dissimilar) so that of Cordella on recognising Leir, as typical of that immeasurable distance between the two plays. While Cordella gives vent to a mere commonplace expression of grief, with absolutely no thought behind it: 'Alack, that ever I should live to see' *etc.* (— but she has never contemplated death); on the other hand, from Edgar we have one of those magic utterances which defy comment, and on which the remarks of commentators with whom we are unable to agree form most irritating reading. In spite of which I have ventured to give in App. I an explanation of what the lines suggest to myself.

20. The king of France. The disinterested love of France for Cordelia is a part of the original story. In Geoffrey he hears of Cordeilla's beauty, and sends ambassadors to ask her in marriage. They return with the answer that he may have her, but without any dowry, for Leir has distributed all between her sisters. Then Aganippus, *amore virginis inflammatus* (cf. I, i, 257: 'tis strange that from their cold'st neglect, My love should kindle to inflamed respect) sent back to say that he had enough of gold and silver and other possessions, *se vero tantummodo puellam captare* (cf. I, i, 255: Thee and thy virtues here I seize upon).

— In no earlier version except OP does he conduct his suit in person, and only there is to be found a hint of rivals in her love. In Sc. 2 we learn that Cordella has daily 'several choyce of suters . . and of the best degree' (p. 310, l. 22) but none of these put in an appearance. The decision which is to be made between the two rivals, apparently by Cordelia herself (cf. I, i, 49) recalls *The Merchant of Venice*, which probably was dependent to some slight degree on OP (cf. p. 212, note 1), and from which the expression 'quest of love' (I, i, 196) is perhaps transferred (cf. *Mer. of Ven.* I, i, 172: many Jasons come in quest of her). — The title 'king of France' is perhaps worth noticing. Geoffrey's *rex Francorum* is generally rendered king of France (*viz.* in Wace, Lay, RM, FPB; GR I, Cxt, MfM 75, Rast; MB; MS. Reg; LRB; BS; RG; PL; TC; Hard; Fab, Grft; Percef: roy des Francois) but offends the historical sense of some chroniclers: HH corrects to 'rex Gallorum', PV and Leland write 'regulus Gallorum'; Fab, Grft, Rast retain 'king of Fraunce' only under protest; MfM 87 changes to 'Prince of Fraunce'.¹⁾ Warner and OP call him the 'Gallian king', but in OP his country is France.²⁾ In FQ he is 'Aganip of Celtica'. In Hol. Aganippus 'was one of the twelve kings that ruled Gallia' and 'one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France)'. It is questionable whether Sh. would have followed MfM 75 in preference to other authorities but for the support of Geoffrey, but this is a point on which little weight can be laid.

France does not appear after I, i, but he raises an army (and in Q₁ brings it over to Britain) to restore Lear to his throne. In Geoffrey and elsewhere, except in three versions, he does this apparently on his own initiative. But in LRB he levies the army 'par conseil sa femme la reine.

¹⁾ But not consisently. Higgins changes 'king' to 'prince' in St. 14 and 15, but allows 'king' to stand in St. 22 and 25.

²⁾ In GTilb, Wavrin, Naucel, Godet, Harry, Tys also king of Gallia or Gaul; Wauq: Aganipus de belges; Bouchart: roy de Neustrie.

In Sh. he does so at Cordelia's wish. So, too, in MfM. With IV, iv, 24:

Therefore great France
My mourning and importun'd tears hath pitied.

cf. MfM 75, St. 22, l. 3:

Then I besought my king with teares vpon my knee,
That he would aide my father thus by them misusde,
Who nought at all my humble hest refusde,
But sent to euey coast of *Fraunce* for ayde,
Whereby my father home might be conueide.

In MfM 87, l. 3—4 are re-written:

Then humbly I besought my noble King so free,
That he would aide my father thus by his abusde:

To one who has made a comparative study of the Lear-story, Kent's question, IV, iii, 1, is curiously suggestive. Not that France has ever suddenly gone back, but that there is a constant difference of opinion as to his coming to Britain at all. In three editions of Geoffrey France comes with Cordeilla, Leir himself being in command of the expedition: — 'duxit secum Leir Aganippum (ed. Asc., generum suum) filiamque suam et collectam multitudinem in Britanniam, cum generis pugnavit et triumpho potitus est'. But Commelin, 1587, omits *Aganippum* and reads: — 'duxit secum Leir filiam suam', etc., with which MW agrees. And copies of Geoffrey omitting *Aganippum* must have lain before MB, Wace, MW, and many others. So that in most accounts where details of the restoration are given, France hands over the host he has assembled to Leir and Cordeilla, and himself stays at home (namely, in MB; Wace, Lay, RM, FPB, EPB, GRI, Cxt, Rast, Wavrin, MfM; MW, Tys, GRB, WCov, PL, Eul Hist, Hard, Bouch, Percef, Godet). Bouchart gives a reason for his so doing: 'car pource que Aganpus estoit mal ayse de son corps il ne pouoit voyager'. And Harding another:

For he was olde, and might not well trauell
In his persone, the warres to preuaile.

MfM also apologises for the separation of Cordila from her husband (St. 23):

And I likewise of loue and reuerent meere good will
Desir'd my Lord, hee would not take it ill,
If I departed for a space withall,
To take a part, or ease my father's thrall.

But where he does go to Britain, he generally takes command, as in MSReg., GCant, BS, RG, TC, Warner, OP. In HH, however, Cordeilla is apparently the leader¹⁾; and in Hol. Aganippus's presence is merely an afterthought, added by Hol to Cxt whom he is here paraphrasing. Leir is in command,²⁾ as in Geoffrey, and generally. Occasionally, in the absence of her husband, the army is entrusted to Cordeilla. It is so in PL:

Le ray de Fraunce son host ad tost assemblé.
A Cordelle sa femme tut l'ad comaundé,
E cele en Brettaygne of Leyr est arvyé.

In FQ no mention is made of her husband's part, but

. . . after all, an army strong she leau'd,
To war on those, which him had of his realme bereau'd.
So to his crowne she him restor'd againe.

In MfM 75 France commits 'the souldiours' to her 'father's aged hand' (St. 23) but in MfM 87 'vnto captaynes euery band'. In OP Lord Mumford is the Gallian king's lieutenant, much in evidence during the fighting (Sc. 31). In Q₁ France leaves in command the Marshal of France, Monsieur la Far (IV, iii, 10).

The king of France brings over the expedition (IV, ii, 56; V, I, 25) but is suddenly called back by affairs of state

¹⁾ Cordeilla . . . cum viro suo . . . Britanniam petiit, ducesque socratos debellans et interficiens regno patrem triumphose restituit.

²⁾ Hol.: — Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husbände tooke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies . . .

before the Gentlemen sent by Kent to Cordelia performs his commission (IV, iii, 1—8, 39). All this, however, is in Q_1 only; in F_1 he does not come to Britain with Cordelia, who is at the head of the expedition (IV, iv, 21—24) though not in actual command of the troops (IV, vi, 219: Though that the Queen on special cause is here, Her army is moved on). F_1 then agrees pretty much with FQ ; Q with OP rather than Hol . But since Sh . alone keeps Lear in Britain, the results of this particular investigation are unimportant for our chief purpose.

Far more interesting are the inferences we may draw with regard to the relationship of the two texts. It has been shown (p. 198ff.) that IV, iii belongs, with IV, iv and IV, vii of Q_1 , to a later recension than is represented by these two scenes in F_1 . In this inserted scene, IV, iii, the absence of France in the subsequent part of the play is explained, l. 1—8: he has been suddenly required in his own country. And since the only two passages in the play that give us to understand that France had come to Britain are also peculiar to Q_1 , not found in F_1 , it is a natural inference that they are also of later date than the F_1 text of IV, ii and V, i, and that they bring France over for some special purpose, to be sent back again in IV, iii, when his further presence is unnecessary, or rather when his absence is necessary. Why were these additions made?

In some versions there is another reason given for the separation of Cordeilla from her husband. Working with copies of Geoffrey that read *duxit Leir secum filiam suam*, omitting *Aganippum*, MB and Wace are brought face to face with the question, Why does Cordeilla leave her husband and go to Britain with Leir, who must be well able to take care of himself, since he is in command of the expedition? Seeing that Cordeilla succeeds Leir at his death three years later, both find the same answer: she goes over in order to succeed Leir if he is able to recover the kingdom. Cf.

MB, v. 3465

Sa fille en a od sei meneie
 Dame sera de la cuntreie
 S'il ja sun regne puet ravoïr
 De li voldra faire sun hoïr.

Wace, v. 2082

[Aganipus] si li livra
 Cordeille qui od lui fust
 et après lui son regne eüst
 s'il le poeient delivrer
 et des mains as gendres oster.

From Wace this motive is repeated in Lay, and finds its way by the usual course, to Cxt.: — 'and Cordeil also come with her fader in to Brytayne for to haue the royaume after hir faders deth'. Hol. enlarges on Cxt.: — 'It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise'. Shakespeare read this imputation in Hol.; hence Cordelia's disavowal of selfish purposes (IV, iv, 23):

O dear father,
 It is thy business that I go about;
 Therefore great France
 My mourning and importun'd tears hath pitied.
 No blown ambition doth our arms incite,
 But love, dear love, and our aged father's right.

If only Albany had heard this! For Goneril's 'mild husband', her 'moral fool', was always inclined to take the king's side (I, iv, 335; IV, ii, 96). In him are centred our hopes for the king, raised by repeated allusions to disagreement and rumours of war between the dukes (II, i, 11, 28, 117; III, i, 19—29; III, iii, 9). When he heard that the French power was landed, he smiled (IV, ii, 5). It is 'with much ado' that he is persuaded to be 'in person' with his forces (IV, v, 1—3), which have been 'set forth' by the exertions of Goneril, who went home (IV, ii, 17) to give the distaff into her husband's hands. Surely if he had known there was no ulterior purpose behind Cordelia's invasion, he would have been roused out of his weak, irresolute, *laissez faire* policy. There is some spirit in him (cf. V, iii, 40ff.).

It was with the intention, I think, of somewhat strengthening Albany's character, that Sh. brought over the king of France. It is because Alb. believes France to be at the head of the invading forces that he is readily persuaded to pass over domestic broils and combine against the enemy (V, i, 29). France has now returned (IV, iii), but that is unknown to Albany. Cf. V, i, 25, Q₁, *Alb.*

for this business,
It touches us, as *France* invades our land
Not bolds the king, with others, whom, I fear,
Most just and heavy causes make oppose

Previously, Goneril had endeavoured to rouse him, IV, ii, 55, Q₁:

— where's thy drum?
France spreads his banners in our noiseless land,
With plumed helm thy state begins to threat.

The belief that France has invaded Britain in his own interests leads Albany to put aside other questions and fight against Cordelia's forces. And since now there is a sufficient reason to prevent Albany from going over to the invaders, his favourable bearing towards Lear may be made more emphatic. Hence the other additions in IV, ii, in Q₁, *viz.* l. 31—49, 62—68.

Thus the discovery of the identity of the *Knight* or *Gentleman* of F₁ with the *nuncius* of Geoffrey shows that by far the greater number of lines in Q₁ after IV, i, which are not given by F₁, are of later date than the F₁ text. Q₁ appears to represent a revision of the play by Shakespeare himself, at least in IV, ii; IV, iii; IV, iv (*Gent.* changed to *Doct.*); IV, vii and V, i. Further than this I am not prepared to go at present, but I hope to return at some future time to a question no less difficult than interesting.

21. **Lear's character.** The king's irrational conduct in disinheriting his favourite daughter does not escape censure in early versions. BS states at the outset that Lear

was not considered a wise man (ekki var hann vitr maðr kalladr); Bouchart writes of the 'grande folie' of the king who reigned forty years with great prudence and prosperity 'iusques vers la fin de son eage, ou le sens lui defaillit'; Cap. xiii of Cxt. relates 'Howe kynge leyr was dryuen out of his lande thurgh his folye'. No one attempts to eliminate that irrationality which indeed is part of the original folk-tale turned into *saga* by Geoffrey. On the contrary it is increased when, as frequently happens (cf. § 24), Cordeilla's answer is rationalised, and instead of speaking in riddles, she makes a straightforward declaration of filial love, for then the father's anger becomes altogether unintelligible. The story suffers much in this respect, yet retains its hold by virtue of the second *motif* of the unfilial children and the true Youngest-Best. It is often as if the first scene of the drama were omitted. Leir's folly is lost sight of, and his sufferings at the hands of his ungrateful daughters tend to make of him a martyr, a mirror of mild patience. This is particularly his character in RG (cf. p. 49 f.) and OP.

It was partly in the original story that Shakespeare found inspiration for a Lear so different in every way from the king in OP. Here he read of a Leir who sixty years 'viriliter regnavit', and finally, at the end of his misfortunes, himself led to Britain the army which France put at his disposal, and defeated his sons-in-law, taking that vengeance at last for which he had longed: 'O irata fortuna, venietne dies unquam qua ipsis vicem reddere potero, qui sic tempora mea sicut paupertatem meam diffugerunt?' Cf. IV, vi, 188—191, the thoughts of vengeance that haunt Lear, and II, iv, 281—5. Gervinus, commenting on Shakespeare's creation, 'every inch a King' even in his madness, writes to the effect (I can only quote from memory) that Lear in his extreme old age and in his utter derangement looks back upon his fighting days, referring of course to V, iii, 277—8:

I have seen the day, with my good biting falchion
I would have made them skip. I am old now,
And these same crosses spoil me.

Is there not the same spirit in the old king who is supposed to say (but in good set terms): 'magis etenim aggravat me illius temporis memoria, quo tot centenis millibus militum stipatus et moenia urbium diruere, et provincias hostium vastare solebam: quam calamitas miseriae meae, quae ipsos qui jam sub pedibus meis jacebant, debilitatem meam deserere coegit'. And would not the Leir who vanquished 'these sons-in-law'¹⁾ have been capable of killing the slave who hanged Cordelia?

We have to go back from Shakespeare 300 years to find a Leir in any way comparable to 'this old majesty'. Then in Layamon we meet again with the king who swears his pagan oaths, and goes hunting with his knights, with hawks and hounds. Further back still, and in MS. Reg. we find a king who also swears 'par ses idles' his daughter shall not have a foot of his land, who when Gonorille bids him disquantity his train, in fury summons his men to mount, and rides off to Regan; and when Gonorille sneers at him, on his return, curses the hour that she was born and that she ever was engendered.

What a woeful change for the better in the Leir of OP! An old man weary of the world, and the world of him (Sc. 1; p. 308, l. 7), who fain would think upon the welfare of his soul, and take him to his prayers and his beads.

¹⁾ Cf. MB, v. 3479: —

En l'estur est li rois Leïr
Si se cumbat de grant aïr
S'il des dous dus se puet vengier
Il nes voldra pas esparnier
.
N'est pas merveile s'il s'en venge
Et s'il la terre lor chalenge
Ainc ne veïstes a nul jur
En nule terre iteil estur.

He 'puts up all wrongs, and never gives reply'; acknowledges that his heavy sins deserve this punishment 'and more than this ten thousand thousand times';¹⁾ wishes for death; would rather not be called 'My lord'; takes a prayer-book with him when he goes out early one morning, and falls asleep over it.²⁾ 'Der Alte jammert Einen, aber Mitleid hat man nicht mit ihm.'

The contrast is so marked that frequently one is tempted to see in Shakespeare's *Lear* the intentional antithesis to the *Leir* of the play that had been 'divers and sundry times lately acted'. Compare, for instance, II, iv, 273:

But for true need, —
You heavens, give me that patience, patience I need!

followed by the sudden revulsion:

You see me here, you gods, a poor old man,
As full of grief as age; wretched in both!
If it be you that stirs these daughters' hearts
Against their father, fool me not so much
To bear it tamely; touch me with noble anger,
And let not women's weapons, water-drops,
Stain my man's cheeks!

with 'the myrrour of mild patience' in OP who tries to pacify Gonorille (Sc. 10), and 'dews his aged cheeks with wasting tears' when the best he can say is wrested straight into another sense (p. 332). In all versions *Leir* weeps. At I, iv, 320 the hot tears break from him perforce, but here (II, iv, 285): —

¹⁾ Sc. 10; but when in Sc. 19 the Messenger accuses him of being 'full of heynous sin' *Leir* demurs: — 'Ah no, my friend, thou art de-ceyed much'.

²⁾ The anonymous dramatist had some sense of humour. While the two old men are asleep, the shaghaired assassin disarms them, i. e. takes their prayer-books from them; then gently reproves them for falling asleep when they 'should watch and pray'. Whereupon

Leir. My friend, thou seemst to be a proper man.

Mes.[aside] 'Sblood, how the old slaue claws me by the elbow!

You think I'll weep ;
No, I'll not weep :
I have full cause of weeping ; but this heart
Shall break into a hundred thousand flaws,
Or ere I'll weep. O fool ! I shall go mad.

Patience is the one quality that Lear most lacks. He 'can be patient', he says (II, iv, 233); he 'will be the pattern of all patience' (III, ii, 37); but 'where is the patience?' (III, vi, 61). Cf. III, vi, 5 and see further § 24.

Further, the simple dignity of Lear's Sophoclean line, III, ii, 59: 'I am a man more sinned against than sinning', is in direct, perhaps conscious contrast with the abject cant of the old pietist in OP, Sc. 10 (cf. p. 221¹).

Gon. and Rag. agree, Sc. 2, that Leir 'is alwayes in extremes' (cf. I, i, 291—305, 'full of changes,' 'the best and soundest of his time . . but rash,' 'unconstant starts') but this trait of his character is hidden from all other observers, except of course in the one traditional act of folly.

Again, Gon. complains to Skal. (Sc. 9) of the 'quips and peremptory taunts' she daily endures from her doting father, but altogether in bad faith, for we find Leir saying and doing the best he can (Sc. 10) to appease her causeless indignation. On the contrary Shakespeare's Lear meets resentful protests with fierce intractable irony (Herford, p. 12). Cf. I, iv, 257: 'Your name, fair gentlewoman?' — II, iv, 129, the ironical greeting, late in the day, to Reg. and Cornwall: 'Good morrow to you both'. — With Gonorill's complaint (Sc. 9):

I cannot make me a new fashioned gowne,
And set it forth with more than common cost;
But his old doting doltish withered wit,
Is sure to giue a senceless check for it.

cf. II, iv, 270:

Thou art a lady;
If only to go warm were gorgeous,
Why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st,
Which scarcely keeps thee warm.

and for the most striking example of 'quips and peremptory taunts', the first words we hear from Lear to Goneril under

the new *régime*, I, iv, 208: 'How now, daughter! what makes that frontlet on? Methinks you are too much of late i'the frown'.

Quip is the most common Shakespearian word for a pun, and implies sarcasm. Although I can find no support in Ellis, there is, I believe, such a quip here, in frontlet: frown. In 1 H IV, I, iii, 19, the king in anger dismisses Worcester with 'And majesty might never yet endure The moody frontier of a servant brow'. 'Frontier,' Wright remarks, 'is apparently used with some reference to *tire* or head-dress.' And, I think, with the same play on *frown* in the first syllable. — The notes given by Furness on 'frontlet' shows its use in the sense of a forehead-cloth, worn at night to prevent wrinkles. In *Euphues* it is called a 'frowning-cloth'. Staunton remarks on its effect in contracting the brows, but thinks that Lear speaks metaphorically. Of course no one could suppose Gon. to appear in a forehead-cloth, now dinner-time. But 'frontlet' has another meaning. The NED shows its use as a generic name for coronet or small crown, from Guillim, 1610,: 'Twixt an Earle and a Vicounts Frontilets, The ods is like: so needlesse to be learn'd'; in 1502 Queen Elizabeth of York had a new 'frontlet of golde'. The stage often retains such symbols of rank where in actual life they would not be worn. And pictorial representations generally give Lear a crown, even in the mad scenes (cf. Gilbert's drawings, and the illustrations in the *Leopold* Shakespeare), and his daughters some kind of a metal head-ornament (cf. also Abbey's frontispiece to *Harper's Magazine* Dec. 1902). Probably Goneril appears in I, iv, in a frontlet betokening higher rank than the coronet of a duchess she wears in I, i, and Lear whose jealousy for the reservations he had made has been aroused (I, iv, 60—78), is moved thereby to this quip and peremptory taunt. This agrees with Goneril's character (cf. § 23). Her aggressive allusion to her 'graced palace' as 'this our court' shows that she now regards herself as a queen. — I might here bring in the remark that from IV, vii, 20, when Lear has been 'array'd' (cf. p. 199) he undoubtedly wears his crown again. This partly explains the apparent contradiction in l. 168 of the Ballad (cf. p. 140). — Anachronism-hunters may be gratified to learn that according to the history Lear could not have worn a golden crown at all, for 'Dunwallo Mulmutius . . caused himselfe to be crowaed with a crowne of gold, the verie first of that mettall (if any at all were before in vse) that was worne among the kings of this nation' (Hol. p. 195; cf. Geoff. II, xvii). Sh. was aware of this fact. Cf. *Cymb.* III, i, 58:

Mulmutius made our laws,
Who was the first of Britain which did put

His brows within a golden crown, and call'd
Himself a king.

22. **Lear's madness.** It appears as if the possibility of Leir's going mad were never very remote. In MS. Reg. we read that when Leir heard Regan's refusal, 'Pur poi dire tut vif ne desue' (cf. Diez, *desver*, von Sinnen sein, rasen). MB uses a like expression frequently: of Leir when he heard Cordeille's answer (v. 2883: A poi de duel n'est esragiez), again at the first reduction (v. 3090: A poi que il de duel n'esrage, Trestoz tresmue en sun corage) and again after the last reduction (v. 3169: Desturbeiz est en sun corage, Por poi que il de duel n'esrage); but also of Cordeille (v. 3325: Quant la roïne ot lo message, A poi qu'ele de duel ne rage; Por sun pere out lo cuer dolent, Si en plora mult tendrement), so that we see that it is only a hyperbolic formula, not uncommon in Old French. Wace uses a similar figure in the word applied to Leir's lament, v. 2021: 'Leir forment se dementa'. It can only be taken here in its transferred sense of 'made his moan'. In RM the king exclaims, v. 2457, 'My wyt and al myn help ys gon', but continues to rail at 'Lady Fortune' in the approved manner. Wavrin when telling of Cordeilla's orders for the care of her father (*ipsum infirmum fingeret, et balnearet, etc.*, cf. p. 198), writes 'et lui commanda quil le menast en une de ses citez pour se reposer et aisier tant quil feust bien revenus a lui'. In OP Leir speaks of his 'crazed thoughts' (Sc. 23: p. 368, l. 27) and in Sc. 24 Gallia bids Cordella forbear a while to make herself known to her father,

vntill his strengthe returne,
Lest being ouer-ioyed with seeing thee,
His poore weak sences should forsake their office,
And so our cause of ioy be turnd to sorrow.

But Leir is never nearer being actually mad than is Gloucester when he says, III, iv, 171, 'I am almost mad myself', and l. 175, 'The grief hath crazed my wits'. All these

quotations merely show that it was the common belief that, as young Lucius heard 'his grandsire say full oft, Extremity of griefs would make men mad' (Tit. Andr. IV, i, 18). The boy had read too 'that Hecuba of Troy ran mad through sorrow'. This passage in *Tit. Andr.* is sufficient to show that the idea of madness would readily occur to Shakespeare. — In one of the folk-tales a son and daughter drive the father mad by deposing him and imprisoning him in a frightful dungeon. He is restored by the father of the heroine's princely lover, but 'par malheur le père de Marie était réellement fou, et ce ne fut qu'après toute une année de caresses et de dévouement sans bornes que cette fille aimante réussit à lui rendre la raison' (*Marie la fille du roi* in Ortoli, Contes pop. de l'île de Corse, P. 1883, p. 48). The mere idea was a commonplace; it is the way in which Lear's insanity is depicted that places it so far above all other attempts. Here it would not be difficult to show that Sh. learnt a little from Kyd's Hieronimo, and from *Titus Andronicus*.¹⁾

23. Goneril and Regan. The initiative of Goneril and the zeal with which Regan furthers her sister's vindictive schemes, qualities noted by Gervinus, are not added by Shakespeare, but are inherent in the story. Goneril is the leading spirit by birthright. The question is first put to the eldest, and she gives a flattering answer. Regan imitates, and endeavours to go beyond her. Leir stays first with Maglaunus, the eldest daughter is therefore the originator of the reductions, while Regan again follows suit. It is the same everywhere. In OP the plot on the king's life also originates with Gonorill, and Regan is only too ready to have

¹⁾ The reasons of the inner light critics for taking this play away from the First Folio are insufficient. The poet who when turned forty could write K. L. III, vii, would not necessarily shrink when under thirty from the blood and horrors of that most popular tragedy. Besides the simile of the vexed sea in III, i, used in *Hamlet* and *Lear* (cf. p. 19); cf. Tit. Andr. III, ii, 9—14 with K. L. II, iv, 122.

Leir murdered and Perillus as well. — This plot, passing into OP from Warner, necessitates Leir's hasty flight to France; it is also used in *King Lear* (III, vi, 96: *Glou.* I have o'erheard a plot of death upon him) causing the king's immediate removal towards Dover, in the litter.

Shakespeare appears to have accepted a hint of differentiation from OP. In both plays, Gon. is vain, fond of dress and display, while Reg. is very ready with her hands, inclined to personal violence.

In OP, Sc. 2. Gon. complains to Rag. of Cor. that 'We cannot have a quaint device . . or new made fashion . . but if she like it, she will have the same', and in Sc. 9 to Skal. that Leir checks her if she sets forth a new fashioned gown with more than common cost, or makes a banquet extraordinary, to grace herself and spread her name abroad. In Sc. 6 she imputes her own inordinate love of finery to Cordella: 'Sheele lay her husbands benefice on her back, Euen in one gowne, if she may haue her will'. Sc. 20 the Gallian ambassador refers to her as 'the stately Queene'.

Kent calls Gon. 'Vanity the puppet (II, ii, 40); Alb. calls her 'this gilded serpent' (V, iii, 84). It is to Gon., not to Reg, (there is no compulsion, but from the course of the story: Lear has now abandoned the thought of staying with Reg. whose 'What need one?' is perhaps a suggestion to Gon. rather than addressed to Lear) that Lear directs the reproach of useless gorgeousness in her dress (II, iv, 272). See p. 224 on Gon.'s 'frontlet'.

Ragan in OP, Sc. 22, talks of going to France, 'with these nayles' to scratch out Cordella's 'hatefull eyes', if she were sure that 'the detested witch' had wrought some charm or invocation on Leir. Cf. Lear to Gon. of Reg., I, iv, 329:

When she shall hear of this, with her nails
She'll flay thy wolvisch visage.

And Glou. to Reg. III, vii, 56:

Because I would not see thy cruel nails
Pluck out his poor old eyes, . . .

In Sc. 25, fearing her victims have escaped, Rag. declares herself quite out of charity with heartless men, afraid

To giue a stab, or slit a paltry Wind-pipe,
Which are so easy matters to be done.
Well, had I thought the slaue would serue me so,
Myself would have bin executioner.

.

He that repines at me, how ere it stands,
'Twere best for him to keepe him from my hands.

Sc. 22 she strikes the Gallian ambassador, and terms him a 'peasant', a name she also applies to her defaulting Messenger (Sc. 25). — Regan plucks Gloucester by the beard (III, vii, 38), and when the servant intervenes, repines at her, she exclaims 'A peasant stand up thus!', takes a sword and runs him through.

It seems from Abbey's splendid painting of 'Goneril and Regan' (cf. Harper's Mag., Dec. 02) as if I have been beating in an open door here and on p. 224. The portraits show us, besides other features generally recognised, Gon. in a gorgeous dress, far outshining her more masculine and muscular sister, and wearing a 'frontlet' much more magnificent than that of Regan. But these two points have never, to my knowledge, been taken up in the comment.

24. Cordelia's answer. The original text needs to be read attentively: — At Cordeilla ultima, cum intellexisset eum [credulum patrem] praedictarum adulationibus acquievisse, (a) tentare illum cupiens, aliter respondere perrexit: Est uspiam, mi pater, filia quae patrem suum plusquam patrem diligere praesumat? non reor equidem ullam esse, quae hoc fateri audeat, (b) nisi jocosus verbis veritatem celare nitatur. (c) Nempe ego dilexi te semper ut patrem, nec adhuc a proposito meo divortor. (d) Etsi a me magis extorquere insistis, audi certitudinem amoris, quem adversus te habeo, (e) et interrogationibus tuis finem impone. (f) Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te

diligo. — Porro pater ratus eam (g) ex abundantia cordis dixisse, vehementer indignans,

This part of Geoffrey's narrative is so delicately balanced that all attempts at abridgment or at free translation lead to disaster. If I leave little to the reader's intelligence in commenting on it, it is because justice has never been done to Geoffrey's fineness of touch. — Although Cordeilla sees through her sisters, she does not openly accuse them of flattery (as, for example, in OP) but implies by her veiled allusion, (b), that their extravagant professions are only a joke, for surely no daughter can say she loves her father more than her father. The young Cordeilla's tact and loyalty towards her elder sisters in making a way of escape for them if she is successful in warning her father, are worthy of the queen who ten or more years later (cf. § 26) first restores her forlorn father to the dignity befitting his estate, before allowing herself or any one else to see him (cf. p. 194, note; p. 198). But — to apply Coleridge's comment on Cordelia — 'there is something of disgust at the ruthless hypocrisy of her sisters, and some little faulty admixture of pride and sullenness in' (d) and (e), 'and her tone is well contrived to lessen the glaring absurdity' of Lear's conduct. Her final sentence, (f), warns her father of the danger in giving away his property. Cordeilla shrinks from a plain revelation of her sisters' interested love, and her father fails to see the irony of her self-depreciation. He has as yet no conception of her high ideal of filial love, and in spite of (c) and (b) he takes (f) literally, thinking, (g), that this really expresses her own sentiments. (With (g) cf. I, i, 106, *Lear*. But goes thy heart with this?)¹)

¹) (g) shows Geoffrey's acquaintance with the Vulgate. Cf. Luke VI, 45: 'Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum: et malus homo de malo thesauro profert malum. Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur'. The parallel text, Matt. XII, 34, is brought into connection with the story in OP by a different train of thought. Cf. 'O generation of vipers' etc. with 'O viperous generation and accurst!' See p. 107.

Leir certainly was a fool, but we must remember that there are many who share his folly in so far as they no more understand the real purport of Cordeilla's answer than did her father. This is due, however, to mere inadvertence in the commentators, who neglect the original story in the strangest manner. Herford writes of Cordeilla's 'brutal' reply in Geoffrey, (f), because he had not read Geoffrey, but Holinshed, who like many other chroniclers ruins the subtle psychology of the original in his anxiety to be brief. Hol. omits (b) and (g).

Translators frequently endeavour to make Cordeilla more readily intelligible to their readers, but fail to observe that they thereby damage the story by making the absurdity of Leir's conduct still more glaring. It will be seen from the following brief review of the answer in the intermediate versions how tenderly the original text needs to be handled.

(a) is changed by Wace to 'a sun pere se vout gaber' (v. 1765), without much detriment to his own account; but the change sends Lay, who also generalises (f), hopelessly astray: — 'tha answarede Cordoille, lude and no whit stille, mid gomene and mid lehtre'. The omission of *tentare illum cupiens* leads Lay to say that Cor. determined to say sooth, where her sisters had flattered (v. 3031—6). But when she answers 'with game and laughter', there is perhaps more reason for Leir's anger, but it is impossible to find that Lay had any clear conception of the situation he describes. — Similarly MS Reg. turns (a) into her intention to speak the truth, and follows this up with (c) and (f). And RG omits (a), and states emphatically (714, 720) that Cor. in saying (f) spoke the 'soth', as she intended, because she could not flatter (711). Tys turns (a) into 'determined to answer with moderation', with the like incongruous result. Fab, Grft, Hol. all emphasise her intention to speak no otherwise than as her 'conscience leadeth' her. And TC keeps (a), yet leads up to (f) by the same talk of her 'conscience' (v. 3413). It is plain that these chroniclers are

influenced by their sympathy with the heroine, but the result as far as her answer is concerned, is chaotic nonsense. The substitution of an intention to be conscientious and speak the truth, for (a), is denoted by (a) in the Table below. The change in Wace by (A).

(b), the covert allusion to flattery, is altered in many versions to a direct statement that her sisters have been telling lies; a change which makes the heroine appear a self-righteous little prig in FPB, EPB, Cxt: — 'my sustres have told you glosyng wordes, but forsoth I shall telle truth'. Less offensive in RG: 'Sire . . . ine leue nozt that min sostren al soth sede, Ac . . . icholle soth segge', and only made on provocation in OP, this direct accusation of flattery is denoted by (b).

(c), the direct avowal of filial love, is alone retained in many versions, where it is generally emphasised.

(d) is usually toned down, and (e), somewhat harsh, showing with (d) that 'little faulty admixture', is nearly always omitted. Wace omits (e) but compensates by adding, v. 1791: 'a tant se tout, plus ne vout dire'. This leads in RM to a decided tinge of her father's temper in Dame Gordylle, who, v. 2342, 'walde namore seye, . . bot yede hure weye, . . with wrathe' (2352).

(f) is often generalised. Instead of speaking in the first person (*diligo*) as the story requires her to do, Cor. makes the wise remark, which could cause little offence to a rational parent, that love is generally interested. The reason for this change, as for the omission of (d) and (e) may be sympathy with the heroine, but it certainly shows misapprehension of the original. Cf. Lay, v. 3055: 'al swa muchel swa thu hauest, men the willet luuien', for soon is he loathed, the man that possesses little; Wavrin: 'tant avez, tant valez, et tant vous prisons; EPB, Cxt: 'as moch as ye ben worthe, so moche shal ye be loued'; hence MfM 75: 'We loue you chiefly for the goodes you haue'. Exactly the same thing happens in Tys: 'love is in general pro-

proportioned to the wealth, the health (cf. p. 41), and the power of the person beloved'. Eidam is unable to shake off the weight of Simrock's opinion, who looked upon the original (f) as 'seltsam und auf ungenauem Auszug aus Tysilio beruhend'. Eidam writes (p. 28): — 'Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, daß hier die schlichten, einfachen Worte *Tysilios* der ursprünglichen Gestalt der Sage näher kommen, als die Fassung bei *Geoffrey*, die doch entschieden etwas Gekünsteltes, Unwahrscheinliches an sich hat'. Quite so. The last part of Eidam's observations entirely bears out what I have written on p. 15. I have shown that the Lovest in *Geoffrey* is nothing else than an adaptation of the Loving like Salt story, which was made up with the Clever Lass to show the value of salt. The answer (f) is quite improbable, and quite artificial, made up by *Geoffrey* to take the place of the 'salt' answer. It is impossible for *Geoffrey* to have conceived a situation so unnatural and irrational without the help of that folk-tale, where the situation is precisely the same. And it is only by the assumption that *Geoffrey* had that story to work on that we can explain his refined psychology. *Cordeilla's* answer is, as I said before, over-subtle. While the salt-answer traverses a whole continent without injury, *Cordeilla's* answer cannot, as the present investigation shows, be moved a step out of its context without ruining its delicate fabric. But if Eidam had compared his versions more carefully he might have got rid of his impression, for *Tys* innocently retains (g): 'conceiving this reply strictly to express her sentiments'. What else does it express? *Tys* has fallen into the common error of substituting straightforward, simple words where (g) shows that the puzzling, ironical words should be kept; and consequently detracts from the story by making the king's anger even more unreasonable than before. — This generalisation of (f) is denoted by (f). — *Fab.* and *Grft.* do not generalise, but make an unimportant change in the first clause of (f). *Perceval* mistranslates: 'autant que tu as vescu autant ie

tay ayme', which is not intelligible. In many accounts (f) alone is retained.

PV adds to (c) a new idea which Cordeilla was too young to think of. She could not conceive of any greater love than that of a child towards her father. PV substitutes a new and clever enigma for (f), and supplies the key in a parenthesis: she might soon get to love some one else better than her father. The solution is, her husband. But this, too, was beyond her father's grasp. This new answer we will call (p) and have done with the earlier versions before passing on to Shakespeare. In this Table, if a version is omitted, the answer is not recorded.

MB, Wauq	a, b, c, d, e, f, g; in MB (a) is indistinct.
Percef	a, b, c, d, e, c, g.
Wace	A, b, c, d, f, g, e; (b) broadened
Lay	A, a, c, f, g.
RM	c, d, f, e.
FPB, GR I	b, c, f, g.
EPB, Cxt	b, c, f, g.
RG	a, b, c, d, e, f.
TC	a, a, b, c, d, e, f, g.
Tys	a, b, c, f, g.
Gottsch	b, c, d, f.
Fab., Grft.	a, b, a, c, d, f.
Hol.	a, c, d, f.
MW, GRB, LRB, PL	c, d, f.
MS. Reg.	a, c, f.
BS, Eul. Hist., Bouch	c, f.
Wavrin, MfM 75	c, f.
Harding	f, c.
PV, MfM 87, Camd, VH	c, p.
OP	c, b.
HH, GCant, GTilb, WCov	} f.
GR II, III, Herolt, Nauc	
Pedro, Rast, Harvey, FQ	c.

Cordelia's answer might be represented, but very inadequately, by (*d, e, c, p, b*), and that in the Ballad by (*c, e*). — In the intermediate versions we note the fairly general tendency, in the omission of (d) and (e), in (*a*), and

(/), to make of Cordeilla a beautiful maiden 'filled with a kind of transparent pink jelly'. No one version attains that ideal, but we might get something like it by combining, say (a) of GR and Fab. with (b) of Cxt, (c), and the addition of BS to the effect that Cor. concurred most dutifully in the justice of her sentence (that man mèt fyrri beztu, sem thú vilt vera láta). When Eidam cries out against Coleridge's 'some little faulty admixture of pride and sullenness' as unpardonable severity toward this 'Engelsgestalt' (p. 32), I can only point out that he too is subject to something of that same tendency. The second 'Nothing' of F_1 is for us a precious possession. 'We love her all the more, with a love that at once tempers and heightens our worship, for the rough and abrupt repetition of her nobly unmerciful reply to her father's fond and fatuous appeal'. Better than Coleridge or Swinburne, we have Shakespeare's own testimony. Lear at I, iv, 288 is fully conscious of his folly — (this is one of a number of points in which it is impossible to show that Sh. followed one more than another, or indeed followed any version) — and will judge Cordelia now the more mildly as his previous judgment was far too severe, but he cries,

O most small fault,
How ugly didst thou in Cordelia show!
Which, like an engine, wrench'd my frame of nature
From the fix'd place; drew from my heart all love
And added to the gall.¹⁾

'Most small', but yet a fault. (Of course I agree with what Eidam says on p. 32 against Ulrici and the rest, but

¹⁾ Cf. Geoff.: — 'O Cordeilla filia, quam vera sunt dicta illa, quae mihi respondisti, quando quaesivi a te, quem amorem adversus me haberes Sed qua fronte, charissima filia, te audebo adire, qui ob praedicta verba iratus . . .' With the latter part of this passage cf. IV, iii, 40—48. In Geoffrey too, it is 'sovereign shame' that keeps Leir outside the city, while the messenger is sent in to see Cordeilla. Cf. MS. Reg.: 'Li reis remist de fors la vile, Pur hunte ne pot ver sa fille.'

there is no suggestion of 'Schuld' in Coleridge's criticism, which ought not to be classed with Ulrici's.) Cordelia is no 'Engelsgestalt', but what is much better, flesh and blood. The 'kind and dear princess' is the true daughter of Lear, and becomes every inch a queen. Notice her plural of majesty, IV, iv, 9, and the amazing spirit in her proposal, when captive and defeated, to 'see these daughters, and these sisters' (V, iii, 8).

While the 'salt'-story, Geoffrey, and after him PV, rely upon the father's inability to solve an enigma, or rather his erroneous solution, as the chief motive for his anger, in Sh. there is no enigma; that element of the folk-tale is eliminated, and with it much of the 'irrationality' of which we should have heard much less from critics, but for the general misinterpretation of Sc. 1. The sentence on Cordelia is irrational, for reason has given place to rage, Lear's 'dear judgment' to 'folly'; but that rage is motived as convincingly as anything in Shakespeare's works. Ten thousand times more irrational than Lear are those critics who in cold blood decide that Cordelia is to blame for the whole catastrophe, and see in her tragic fate the penalty for her answer, that 'most small fault'. The anger of the king in OP is not convincing, for he is otherwise all patience. But that Lear's temperament would be understood by Shakespeare's contemporaries, let Lodge witness (*Incarnate Devils*, 1596, Hunterian Club ed., XII 75): — 'the spirit of Impatience now incarnate . . This is he that will beat his wife, lame his children, breake his seruants backes, vpon euerie light occasion, . . an arrant swearer, a swift striker . . if he be detracted he stormeth, be it either iustly or vniustly, . . . hée will not dine for anger if his napkin haue a spot on it, nor pray if hée haue not that granted him which at the first he requireth: he will not stay to hear an answer whilst a man may excuse himselfe', *etc.* Lear has something in common with the type which Lodge caricatures: the spirit of Impatience was in him.

Imagine the old autocrat of sixty years' reign. He has arranged the ceremony for the special glorification of his favourite daughter, his last and least. He means to see her married, and ruling, under his guidance, over that greatest and best region he has reserved for her. He looks forward to setting his 'rest on her kind nursery'. Giving up his land he wants to hear from her lips the gratitude she must feel. He loves her better than her sisters. They too must thank him in anticipation for their equal and less valuable portions. It is no 'Schmeicheleibestellung'. We feel that a much less extravagant profession than those of her sisters would suffice to let Lear find her worthy of that most opulent third if it had come voluntarily and at first. He gives her more chances of withdrawing than in any other version, but does so with growing irritation; nothing but the most complete recantation could excuse that 'nobly unmerciful reply'. The abrupt 'Nothing' overthrows all his plans; humiliation before his other children at the sudden baffling of his 'trick' is added to intense and complex disappointment. Two thirds of the kingdom are given away; Cordelia has but to accept the remaining largest bounty. Her subsequent declaration of filial love (c), couched in simple terms (as for instance the (c) of FQ which alone has to cause the king's anger), but without the irritation that passes from father to daughter, would have been sufficient if it came first. But she answers, and repeats, 'Nothing'. (To put it mechanically, the faulty admixture, corresponding to (d) and (e) of the original, is placed first, and thus made far more emphatic and disastrous; it cuts a far deeper wound). Two thirds are given away; what can now be done with the remaining third?

But Cordelia's 'Nothing' is no less convincing. It is perfectly plain, — What can Cordelia say? — The whole situation has the cogency of fate itself. The first scene might, Goethe and Coleridge agree, be taken away with comparatively little loss to the tragedy. Yet the absolute loss would be immense, for we ordinary mortals never could imagine

a parent duped by hypocritical professions of two daughters to disinherit the third, previously, and deservedly, more dear to him, who should thereafter be a perfectly fit theme for tragedy. The folk-tales and the pre-Shakespearian versions show that it is useless for us to think we could do so. For everywhere we have to grant postulates: in the 'salt'-story, Geoffrey, and PV, want of intelligence in the king, inability to solve a simple enigma; in OP and *a fortiori* in all versions where only (c) is found, traditional rage, most inadequately motivated. Any such postulate detracts from the human interest of the story, and incapacitates the father for appearing as a tragic figure. As Shakespeare was the first to apply the story to tragic purposes, so he is the first to turn the *märchen*-king into a living character. He alone eliminates the irrationality in all that precedes Lear's 'hideous rashness', and allows us to see why the king becomes so furiously angry.

At the risk of insisting too much, I must point out how absolutely necessary it is for this interpretation to realise the significance of the *coronet*. It adds just that touch which was necessary to make apparent the whole beautiful structure of the opening scene. The *coronet* shows that the tragedy is not based on the assumption of any improbability, but entirely on the characters of the king and his three daughters, the selfish love and the impatience of Lear, the malicious cunning of Goneril and Regan, and that 'tardiness in nature' of Cordelia, whose modesty is touched by the perception of the honour to which she is to be preferred, above her elder sisters.

There is no trace of (d) or (e) in FQ or OP, but (d) is given by Hol.; (c) is in all accessible versions that give any answer; l. 101 contains a fairly broad hint at the sisters' flattery, corresponding vaguely to (b) in OP. It is obviously impossible to draw any rigorous conclusion as to the versions that influenced Sh. here, for everything is completely transformed. But the pride and sullenness (d, e) in Geoffrey must

be noticed, as a characteristic which is lost in most versions, but reappears in Sh., perhaps through Hol. Nor are we on much safer ground with l. 101—106, generally ascribed to Camden. This part (*p*) also appears to arise quite naturally out of the situation. We must remember that in Sh. alone Gon. and Reg. are already married, and that consequently the objection occurs at once to Regan's declaration in Hol., Geoff. etc., that she loved Lear 'farre aboue all other creatures of the world Hol.).¹⁾ Then again, Cordelia does not say she should love her husband more than her father as in PV and all his followers (MfM 87, Camd, Val Herb) but that her husband should share her love, care, and duty. But if (*p*) is taken from anywhere in particular, it must be from Camden, not MfM 87, for what evidence there is for MfM otherwise (cf. p. 189 f., 215) points distinctly to an older edition, MfM 75.

Recently some doubt has been thrown on the general belief since Malone, that Sh. shows his acquaintance with Camden's *Remaines* in *Coriolanus*. In vol. XXXV of the Sh.-Jahrbuch, E. Engel puts forward (p. 273) with far more conviction than it can carry, the theory that the tale told by Menenius Agrippa is 'sicher auf keine andere Quelle zurückzuführen' than a passage he quotes from Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*. Herr Engel betrays such a complete misconception of the question he settles with such admirable confidence, as I for my part can only explain by a theory that he has been reading Fleay's *Shakespeare Manual*. On p. 52 of that misleading little book (ed. 1876) the author makes the 'wild-cat' statement that the fable 'is taken from Camden's *Remaines* (1605) and not from North's *Plutarch*'. The rawest student can convince himself of the absurdity of this statement by comparing Sh. with Camden and North. He will see that North, who up to this point is Sh.'s chief authority in *Coriolanus*, remains so for the fable. If Engel had compared North he would have found that there is nothing peculiar to Sh. and Sidney except the opening formula, 'There was a time when'; and that is certainly not enough to decide in favour of Sidney. For Camden, on the contrary, there remains after elimination of the evident influence of North, the likeness of the belly to a gulf, and the detailed

¹⁾ In RM Gonorylle swore, 'Whether scheo were mayden or wyf, Scheo wolde love hym as hure lyf' (v. 2302—3).

functions of the members, with the use of idle and another common word or two. It seems probable enough that Malone was right in finding that Sh. read Camden as well as North, but Fleay and Engel are entirely beside the point.

It is unlikely that Sh. read the revised legend of Cordila, MfM 87, in addition to the older version, and further the suggestion of the marriage-service in I, i, 100, 104: Obey, love, honour; love, care, duty, was probably induced by Camden's biblical addition to PV (cf. II, § 55, where MfM 87 is also quoted); and again the Fool's 'That's a shelled peascod' (I, iv, 219) is probably due to Camden's description (ed. 1629, p. 181) of Richard II's device of 'a Pescod branch with the cods open, but the Pease out, as it is vpon his Robe in his Monument at Westminster'.

One of the first things that struck me on commencing this study was the possibility of an allusion to (f), literally translated by Hol (from MW), in Goneril's scornful farewell to Cordelia, I, i, 281:

You have obedience scanted,
And well are worth the want (F₁; Q₁ worth) that you have wanted.

At that time my general impression was that which is produced by many editors' introductions, that Shakespeare barely condescended to glance at what some people ignorantly called his 'authorities', and I regarded the notion as altogether too romantic. At the present time my general impression is another, and I go so far as to conjecture that Sh. had contemplated using (f) in Cordelia's answer, and had imagined this (as it then would be) very forcible retort from Goneril. For according to (f), you are worth as much as you have. Now Cordelia has nothing; and Goneril condemns her out of her own mouth, she is worth nothing. The curious part of it is that the explanation would apply to both texts, for 'want' = nothing, and 'worth' = nothing, therefore 'worth' = 'want'. But the F₁ reading is far preferable; Q₁ a mere corruption. Furness records no less than seven emendations of this line, in which there is, however, no obscurity at all

in F₁, 'want' being of course a cognaté accusative: — You well deserve the loss you have suffered. This possible allusion to (f) would explain the curious form of I, i, 282, and adds a venom to the taunt that well becomes Goneril.

Milton's free translation of Geoffrey, slightly influenced by Shakespeare, is rather interesting at this point of the story: —

But *Cordelia* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and vertuous answer. *Father*, saith she, *my love towards you is as my duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this flatter.* When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking, with a loiall sadness at her Fathers infirmity, but somthing on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her own mind, *Two waies only*, saith she, *I have to answer what you require mee; the former, Your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left mee; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you. Then hear, thou, quoth Leir now all in passion* — The formula would be (a c b d f).

25. **Cordelia's Death.** The same feeling that produced the more or less happy endings of the 18th century adaptations of K. L., by Tate, Colman, Ducis, Schröder, brought about various modifications of Geoffrey's unhappy sequel in many of his early followers.

Some chroniclers simply record Cordeilla's reign, and pass on without any reference to her death: — GTilb, WCov, Otterb, Naue, Rous, Warner.

Naturally, where the story is told for the sake of the moral, the narrator exercises economy, lays down his pen at the happy ending, and leaves it implied that the virtuous heroine lived happy ever after: — GR, Herolt, Gottsch, Val Herb. Into this category comes OP also, where Perillus and Leir indulge in a considerable amount of moralising.

The same didactic tone prevails in RG, who, however, sacrifices so far to historic accuracy as to record Cor's imprisonment, also mentioned by Higden and Rastell.

Others go a little further, relate her death in prison, but dissimulate the suicide: GCant; Eul. Hist.; FPB, first redaction. Elsewhere her death is explicitly charged upon the nephews: Pedro; Higden (MSS. C and D), 'incarcaverunt et usque ad mortem afflixerunt'; FPB, 2nd redaction, EPB, Cxt, 'and neuer they rest tyl they had hyr taken & put hir vnto deth'. Such a death is also implied in PL: 'En angusse e en peyne est ele a mort lyvré'. But Bouchart says she died of an illness. Wavrin, again, or the man he copied, while recording the original account, gives his preference to a variant which turns the tables on the rebels in a surprising manner. He relates that three French nobles, formerly her retainers, rendered Cordeille such effective help that the nephews were taken prisoner and forced to make peace entirely on the queen's terms, after which she reigned seven years, died, and was buried 'moult precieusement', beside her father, at Leicester.

The rest of the chroniclers follow Geoffrey in making Cordeilla kill herself, but frequently we meet with some slight addition which shows that they were not untouched by compassion at the heroine's wretched end. Hardyng offers her the sad consolation of burial in the same grave with her father (cf. p. 74), independently, it seems, of Wavrin, and is followed by Godet, Grft. Abr, Stow's Summarie and Annals, Harvey. According to HH she slew herself 'viriliter'. Cf. Hol., 'being a woman of a manlie courage'. To PV she was 'egregia mulier', worthy of a regretful encomium: — 'This noble woman (who wanted nothings but the kinde and nature of a manne to surmount the whole renowne of our former kinges), attainted with extreme sorowe for her kingdom, which shee had loste in the fifth yeare after she beganne her dominion, with unvanquished corage vanquished and slewe her selfe.' (PV, Trans., ed. Ellis, p. 36.)

Bouchart, who has already been mentioned in this §, differs from Geoffrey in another point. Instead of possessing his crown again for three years, Leir here dies three days

after the victory. This sad event, followed by the death of Cordeille's husband, makes the chronicler pause in his narrative to reflect on *Les douleurs des dames*: — 'Et trois iours apres ceste victoire le roy Leyr trespasa et bien tost apres trespasa semblablement Agampus roi de Neustrie, dont sa femme Cordeille fut moult dolente, car elle auoit perdu son pere et son mary. Toutesfois elle porta ceste fortune paciemment, tant par ce que les douleurs ainsi extremes des dames diceluy temps nestoient de gueres longue duree, que aussi par ce quelle demoura royne paisible du royaulme de la grant Bretagne dont elle auoit auparauant esté desseritee.' Nevertheless she subsequently dies of grief: — 'la royne Cordeille qui prisonniere estoit se veoit toute foreclose desesperance. A celle cause tumba en vne telle tristesse que maladie la surprint dont elle mourut en prison'.

It was by no means the tradition, 'putid' or otherwise, at least until 1590, that Cordelia hanged herself in prison. Wherever, outside FQ, the manner of suicide is specified, it is by the steel. Cf. Lay, 'heo nom enne longne cnif, & bi-nom hire seoluen that lif'; BS, 'tha lagði hon á sèr saxi, ok lauk svâ hennar æfi'; GRB, 'Se clausam regina dolet, mortemque propinat Ipsa sibi, satagens gladio finire dolorem'; MfM. In FQ she shares the fate of Antigone, for no apparent reason other than Spenser's need of a rhyme: —

Till that her sisters children, woxen strong,
Through proud ambition against her rebeld
And overcommen kept in prison long,
Til wearie of that wretched life, her selfe she hong.

While the rebellion of the nephews, whether from FQ₁ Hol., or Geoffrey, perhaps supplied the figure in IV, iii, 14—16, of Cordelia's struggle with her emotion: —

It seem'd she was a queen
Over her passion, who most rebel-like
Sought to be king o'er her.

Shakespeare shows his knowledge of her death in FQ, with perhaps a recollection of Despair in MfM (cf. p. 84), at V,

iii, 254. The slave that had commission from Edm. and Gon. to hang Cordelia in the prison was

To lay the blame upon her own despair,
That she fordid herself.

This allusion to the suicide should have been sufficient to warn critics that in estimating the import of Cordelia's death in the tragedy, her death in the history must not be left out of consideration. But commentators have paid little heed to the unhappy sequel, though the chroniclers, as we have seen, were not so callous. The undeserved suffering of Cordeilla, culminating in a death from which many early versions try to take some of the bitterness by falsifying the supposed history in various ways, cannot have been without effect on Shakespeare. Yet Johnson, Gervinus, Kreyssig, and a host of others, ignore it completely. Johnson writes, 'Shakespeare has suffered the virtue of Cordelia to perish in a just cause, contrary to the natural ideas of justice, to the hope of the reader, and, what is yet more strange, to the faith of the chronicles' (Furness, p. 419). Gervinus talks of the patriotism of Shakespeare not admitting the possibility that a French army could be victorious on English (*sic*) soil, as if that defeat necessarily led to her death. It would have been the simplest matter for the poet to defeat the French army and hew every Frenchman to pieces, if he had wished, without injuring Cordelia. The deplorable accident by which Cordelia is hanged is not in the slightest degree the necessary consequence of her defeat. We meet with such sapient remarks as 'the original story and the play from which Shakespeare worked, end happily' (Irving Sh., VI 333), or 'Shakespeare's stern patriotic justice overcomes the "poetic justice" of the old Chronicles' (Bankside Sh., X, p. lxi). The old play, we are told (Symonds, Sh.'s Predecessors, 1884, p. 370) follows the chronicle; not so Shakespeare. But which ending, I ask, more closely approaches the spirit of Cordeilla's life-history: is it that of OP

with Leir's futile invocation (cf. p. 212 f.) of long life and the blessing of the tribe of Judah upon his daughter, who in the chronicle is within eight years to lose father and husband, and die childless, slain in prison by her own hand; or is it that of *King Lear*?

For helpful criticism there is little to choose between the purblind view of the editor of the 1723 *Collection of Old Ballads*, that 'Shakespear has done nothing more than hasten the Catastrophe', and the words of Symonds (p. 370), 'We shall never know what moved Shakespeare to drop the pall of darkness upon the mystery' etc., etc., but the earlier critic is to be commended, for though his eyes are of little use to him, he does not decline to use them. The original story from which Geoffrey worked ended happily, no doubt; but Cordeilla ends miserably. We have no warrant for supposing that Shakespeare shut his eyes to her later history, as some of his critics have done. In fact that slave's commission, V, iii, 254, proves the contrary. There are those, it is true, who hold that the father was the central concept of the tragedy; that after the suffering he endures it would be impossible for him to live, and that Cordelia's death is added to give him the *coup de grâce*. But such an opinion cannot stand against Lear's own words, V, iii, 265:

This feather stirs! she lives! If it be so,
It is a chance which does redeem all sorrows
That ever I have felt.

It is the pitiable fate of the historical Cordeilla that determines the tragedy, and no safe conclusion can be drawn as to the poet's frame of mind at the shaping of *King Lear*, if that premiss is neglected. I have essayed to explain (p. 26) what moved Geoffrey to 'drop the pall of darkness' upon the moral tale which he wove into his British history. It is the old Celtic note of the undeserved suffering of women, echoing in the sad fate of this child of Ler, that

has given the world, through Shakespeare's genius, its greatest tragedy.

The old play ends happily simply by omitting what is the distinctive feature of Geoffrey's narrative, the sequel of misfortune for the true daughter, whose days, according to the promise, should have been long in the land. Herein the unknown dramatist unconsciously copies all those who repeat the story before him for a professedly edifying purpose. The homilists invariably leave the heroine to enjoy the reward of the kingdom which her virtue has earned her. But Shakespeare preaches a higher ethic, and the lesson of Cordelia's sacrifice can only be appreciated, as it seems to me, by those who share Huxley's conviction 'that there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and of action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is when the garment of make-believe by which pious hands have hidden its uglier features is stripped off.'

Shakespeare has indeed done something 'more than hasten the catastrophe'. Cordeilla's death in the original cannot rightly be called the catastrophe at all, for it is not connected in any way with the events of the story proper. That meaningless suicide in despair at the loss of her kingdom now becomes merely the incredible slander the murderers were to report. Cordelia, true in thought and deed, without a thought of recompense here or hereafter, risks her life and loses it for the sake of those holy bonds of the family, out of which the wider social bond is developed. Her life is sacrificed in the service of Man. After deserving the best, she incurs the worst; but she dies to win immortal glory for the noble human instincts she incarnates and to teach us that in human nature at its best, to which even the gods themselves must bow, we human beings must see our ideal. That, I take it, is the majestic lesson of *King Lear*, and the only legitimate interpretation of V, iii, 20. That lesson is emphasised in the most forcible manner by the inspired ravings of the old despot who in his madness attains to

understanding. As with Gloucester, so with Lear, his mere defects prove his commodities. Gloucester stumbled when he saw; when blind his vision is no longer obscured. Kent and Edgar also bid us remember the noble uses of affliction, the quick humanity it gives, the pitying social sense of human weakness. Lear in his frenzy becomes the ardent champion of all poor naked wretches, of whose cause he had taken little care, in a passionate appeal to those in authority, to men, to 'show the heavens more just'. Surely this was not a passage for the commentators to pass by in silence.

But what can be the meaning of the tragedy for people who hold that Cordelia's death is justified by some stupid dogma that for Shakespeare had no existence? What engine can so have wrenched their frame of nature from the fixed place? The blame for the catastrophe rests if on anyone on the side of light, on Albany in *F*₁; but we have seen (cf. p. 219) that the poet made additions to his earlier draft with the intention of relieving Albany of some of his culpable inertia. It is well for those critics who clamour of 'tragic criminality', of 'patriotic justice' and 'poetic justice', and it is at the same time one of the highest conceivable tributes to the playwright's skill, that Shakespeare still retains his hold on them, so that they may clarify their views of life and art.

The death by hanging clearly indicates *FQ*, but it is likely that another version, the unhappy attempt by Higgins in the *MfM* (cf. p. 84), was chiefly instrumental — as *OP* could not have been — in drawing Shakespeare's attention to the tragic possibilities of the theme, for in Edmund, the intriguer for the kingdom and the immediate cause of Cordelia's death, who too late repents and confesses his guilt (*V*, iii, 243—247), there is some resemblance to that Morgan, son of Gonerell, the subject of the next legend in the *MfM*, who lost his life in the attempt to make himself king of

all Britain. In Geoffrey and elsewhere, the two nephews are equally guilty of their aunt's death, but here the ghost of Morgan, conscious of his guilt, acknowledges the whole fault, St. 1, l. 5:

Remorce of conscience pricks my harte so nye
And mee torments with panges of pinching payne,
I can no longer mee from speeche refrayne.

With V, iii, 48—52, the reason why Edm. sent the queen (with Lear) to prison, cf. St. 9, l. 2:

. . fearing lest shee should recouer ayde,
I sent in hast to prison her away,
And all recourse of messengers denyde,

and *Cordila*, St. 28, l. 2:

. . they kept mee in prison close, deuouide of trust:
If I might once escape, they were in dread and feare
Their fawning friends with mee would proue vntrue and iust.

And certainly we may discover in the rumours of war, and the 'domestic broils' between Alb. and Corn., or Edm., (cf. V, i, 30) an anticipation of the civil war that ensues when, after Cordeilla's death, the two nephews, like the two dukes, hold each a half of Britain, for Sh. was familiar enough with the early British history to know that the recorded sequence of events might be disregarded at will. He reduces to a period of less than a month the occurrences of about twenty years (cf. p. 253), and as he cancels the five years of Cordeilla's reign there is no reason why he should not have looked still further ahead. The identification of Edmund the would-be usurper, who causes Cordelia's death and pays the penalty, with the Morgan of MfM, therefore supplies the link connecting the history of Britain with the no less mythical king of Paphlagonia, and only increases our admiration of the way in which the two stories are interwoven in *King Lear*.

26. **Time.** 1. Period. The question of anachronisms in *King Lear* would have to be settled with Geoffrey, not

with Shakespeare. The original story, as well as its setting, is an entire anachronism. Besides the refined sentiment of filial piety, there is a king in Britain surrounded by knights and squires, and in Gaul a king of the Franks, some 800 years before Julius Caesar wrote his commentaries. Shakespeare is content to deal with the period in the same spirit. If a king of France, or of the Franks, were one of the princes ruling in Gaul, the duke of Burgundy might well be another.

It is clear that Sh. had a much better knowledge of the supposed old-British history than for instance the author of OP, who makes Leir a pious Catholic, anxious to tell his beads (Sc. 6) and lets Cordella reproach herself with remissness in attendance at church (Sc. 13); better, too, than Dr. Johnson, who objected to 'Jupiter', I, i, 181, that Sh. 'makes his Lear too much of a mythologist'. The worthy lexicographer would doubtless have confessed at once to 'ignorance, pure ignorance' if his attention had been called to a chapter in a work of no less authority in Sh.'s time than was the Dictionary for Johnson's contemporaries. Harrison in his *Description of Britain*, Ch. 9 (Hol. 1586, I 19) writes 'Of the ancient religion used in Albion'; discusses first the paganism brought to the country by Cham, which may account for the nature-worship, demons and fairies in K. L., and continues, p. 22:

Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of *Brute*, who no doubt added such devises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned in *Graecia*, from whence also he brought *Helenus* the sonne of *Priamus* (a man of exceeding age) and made him his preest and bishop through out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine. . . . they honoured the said *Samothés* himselfe vnder the name of *Dis* and *Saturne*: also *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Minerua*, *Mercurie*, *Apollo*, *Diana* and finallie *Hercules*.

It is only natural that the descendant of Brutus should swear by his ancestors' gods, and this objection of Johnson's was quite uncalled for. — Here as in the other British play the opposeless gods have set their canon against self-

slaughter (K. L., V, vi, 38; Cymb. III, iv, 77), but if we disregard the cocks on steeples, III, ii, 3, and 'godson', II, i, 93, there is no allusion to Christianity except from the all-licens'd Fool, who talks of 'holy water', and of churches in his burlesque prophecy of Merlin (III, ii, 80) — which may be taken as a skit on those 'fantasticall predictions . . such as Merlin stood upon most', forbidden by law in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth (cf. Speed's Chron., 1623, p. 16) If only for this reason we should have to reject the interpretation sometimes put upon Kent's eating 'no fish' (I, iv, 14), that he meant to say he was a Protestant. Such a declaration from such a character as Kent would imply a confessional bias in Shakespeare which partisans on both sides have laboured in vain to prove. Surely Shakespeare stood above such *misère*. Though Capell's explanation appears to me to be quite satisfactory, yet I may note, since there are a number of allusions in the play to things British (e. g. 'dragon', I, i, 124) that possibly Kent means to declare himself a true Briton. For Speed (p. 22) quotes from Dio Nicaeus that 'the Britains did till no ground, neither eat fish'. Speed's Chronicle first appeared in 1623, but he drew largely upon Holinshed, and though I have not succeeded in finding a corresponding passage in Hol., I am not satisfied it is not there.

Geoffrey of Monmouth has so completely lost credit that modern readers with difficulty appreciate the extent of his influence and popularity in Shakespeare's days¹), when people were well aware that, as Grand White says (Furness, p. 292), in Lear's time there were no more Englishmen in Britain than in America. It is impossible to admit the inferences drawn by many editors, from Malone to Wright and Craig (p. XXf.), from the change of 'Englishman' in the old metrical saying to 'British man' (III, iv, 195), and of

¹) Such a curious scholar as Grosart wonders in his Index to Hervey, II, 117, who was the 'flying Bladude': — 'seemingly some personage of romance. Query — did not Swift use it as a town's name?' Yet I suppose Grosart had read the *Pickwick Papers*.

'English' IV, vi, 256, F₁ to 'British' Q₁, for these editors have failed to consider that 'English' is the solecism and 'British' what would naturally be expected. A royal proclamation once a week would have made no difference in this respect, and the change to British affords no criterion whatever for the dating of the play. No Leir-version except the German one of Herberger (cf. p. 124), writes of England or English, but even in OP, where Leir is a Christian, we always find 'Brittaine' or 'Brittany', with 'British Dames', 'British shore', 'Brittish ayre', 'Brittish Lady' etc. But France and French occur frequently from Geoffrey on (cf. p. 214). It was probably the thought of the French party that caused the 'English party' to appear in F₁. In Q₁, which certainly to some extent represents a revised text (cf. p. 200, 219), this obvious oversight is rectified.

At II, iv, 155, 'Do you but mark how this becomes the house', attempts have been made at emendation, but the poet's contemporaries would, I think, readily understand 'house', in the sense of royal house, dynasty. Lear, every inch a king, still retains his title, and looks upon himself as the proud representative of the house of Brute. Cf. in Hol. 1586, I, 17, the 'Catalog of kings and princes of this Iland', beginning with Samoths down to Pictus, 'after whom *Brute* entreth into the Iland, . . . and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636 yeares', i. e. to 'the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrex and Porrex' (p. 28). Cf. *Gorboduc*, l. 1647, 'Loe here the end of Brutus royall line', and l. 657, 'the noble line of famous Brute, and of his royall seede'. Godet in his *Chronicle*, 1560, divides the British kings into houses, with the same armorial bearings for Brute and his line, another set for Belinus to Uter Pendragon, etc.

At V, iii, 17 I am bound to object to the accepted reading, 'As if we were God's spies'. The original editions both give us 'As if we were Gods spies', and the word Gods might stand, but for the context, for either God's, gods', or gods. Furness does not record who first inserted

the apostrophe, and the possibility of an alternative to God's has apparently never been considered. But throughout the play, which is placed entirely in pagan times, while there are some nineteen passages in which 'gods' or 'the gods' are mentioned, this would be the only reference to God. Five lines later Lear speaks of 'the gods' again (F₁, Q₁: The Gods themselves) and it is difficult to see why he should become a sudden and momentary convert to monotheism, merely to introduce an idea which is quite strange to such a creed, whether with Warburton we take 'God's' as an objective genitive and interpret 'spies placed over God Almighty to watch his motions'; or with Heath 'and everybody else' (Furness) as a subjective genitive, 'spies commissioned and enabled by God to pry into most hidden secrets'. If, however, we read "As if we were gods' spies", we can at once recall instances from classical mythology enabling us to dispense with the twenty-odd words of Johnson's that try to explain two of Shakespeare's. It is not easy to dismiss prejudice in favour of the established reading but if that is done, it will, I believe, be agreed that Sh. intended "gods' spies", with gods' a subjective genitive. For this now unaccustomed use of gods cf. Troil. III, ii, 164, 'that dwells with gods above'; Jul. Caes. V, iii, 89, 'By your leave, gods', etc. Apparently Latin influence had been at work. Cf. Seneca's Octavia, 504, 'munus deorum est', translated by Nuce: 'the gyft of Gods it is'. Cf. further, Misf. of Arthur, III Chor. 46, 'O giftes of Gods'; IV Chor. 25, 'Would Gods these warres' . . .; Gorboduc, 602, 613, 'the feare of Goddes'; 954, 'contempt of Goddes'; Span. Trag. IV, v, 44, 'Blaspheming gods and all their holy names', etc.

2. Duration. Geoffrey spreads out events, from the Love-test to Cordeilla's death, over a period of about twenty years, long enough at least for the sons of Gon. and Reg., who are married after the Love-test, to grow up and depose Cordeilla. Leir stays with Gon. two years (elapso biennio), with Reg. less than a year (non praeteriit annus) with Gon.

again an inconsiderable time; after a short stay in France he reigns again for three years, and Cordeilla reigns five years. The rest of the time, apparently some ten years, intervenes between the actual division and Leir's deposition from the half of the kingdom he had reserved (*post multum temporis*). The folk-tales show a much more rapid succession of events. In the Gascon tale, for example (Cox 211), the father is driven forth the day after the Love-test ('Allons, leste! Dehors, ou gare les chiens'). And some of the Leir-versions improve the story at the expense of the history. In Tys., for instance, the long interval is cancelled and the stay with Gon. reduced to three months, so that Morgan and Cynedda cannot well be more than eight years old when they 'object to the government under a woman as disgraceful'. Where the king dispossesses himself of all (cf. p. 182, § 8, c) the long interval falls out. MS. Reg. gives Leir half a year with Gon., and then makes him suffer blow after blow without intermission, so that the lapse of time to the restoration is well within a year. And in OP the same period of about twelve years in the history dwindles down to a few weeks. But to require a strict account of time in OP by the everyday standard brings us upon numerous absurdities. On Day 1 the question is put, and Cordella goes into banishment (Sc. 1, 2, 3). After an interval, to bring Cornwall and Cambria in great haste to Troynovant, the marriage-day is before us (Sc. 5, 6). In Sc. 4 Gallia starts for Britain, which he will reach in four hours with a 'fayre wind', as in Sc. 26. In Sc. 7 he has just landed, and the first 'Brittish Lady' he meets is Cordella, who somehow has learnt that this is her sisters' wedding-day, and is still meditating the plan of Disguise and Menial Service she announced on Day 1. The wooing is 'not long a doing' and the lovers go to France to be married 'because the world shall say, King *Leirs* three daughters were wedded in one day'. A good day's work!

It is not necessary to go further through OP to see that here, too, we must apply Christopher North's 'two clocks'

theory. In OP they strike the hours with such jarring notes that we are forced to notice that they are at sixes and sevens. But Shakespeare made such an advance in this double horology that in Macbeth, Othello, and Merch. of Ven., he produces the illusion of long time and short time going on simultaneously as Wilson and Halpin have shown (cf. New Var. Hamlet, I, p. XIVff.). The double time-reckoning in K. L. would have to be studied, if we are to learn anything, in the same spirit of humility. But Dr. Koppel (*Verbesserungsvorschläge zu . . Lear*, Berlin 1899) sets the clock of criticism back fifty years and more, for before the article in Blackwood's Magazine, Nov. 1849, critics were prepared to think their own discernment at fault rather than to pronounce rash censure (cf. Clarke, *Works of Sh.*, 1885, p. xvii). Not so Dr. Koppel, who assumes the schoolmaster tone, talks of impossibilities and antediluvian *naïveté*, and treats the play with an irritant that turns all data of time and place into a festering mass of *Ungenauigkeiten*, *Flüchtigkeiten*, *Widersprüche*. It is with regret that I devote space in § 27 to some criticism of his method.

The duration of the action in K. L. appears to be between three weeks and month. Eccles makes out eight days after the stay with Gon. ('within a fortnight'); Daniel ten days. But as the last hour that Marlowe's Faustus has to live, slips by in a few minutes — the clock strikes eleven; 30 lines of monologue and the half-hour strikes; 17 lines more and the clock strikes twelve — so Sh. makes time go fast or slow at will. If the 'Scena Secunda' of Act II in F₁ is indeed one scene (cf. Koppel, p. 145 f.) and not three, as in modern editions, it seems that in that one scene a whole day passes away, from before sunrise to the following night.

Daniel in his Time Analysis (Transactions 1877—79, p. 218) is uncertain whether the beacon which Kent apostrophises be the sun or the moon. But surely there can be no doubt about it. The first rays of daylight appear to suggest the 'common saw' to Kent, but at least 'warm sun'

must suggest the sun to the audience, and that is enough to decide the point for us. Sh. depends for his scenery almost entirely upon verbal suggestion. No doubt it was still dark enough to see the moon, but clearly Kent could not suggest the sun, and proceed to address the moon. The rising sun will comply with his request, but could the moon 'approach'? Further the epithet 'comfortable' is better suited to sun-beams than to moon-beams. Cf. Timon, V, i, 134, 'Thou sun that comfort'st'. The beautiful phenomenon of sunrise is one of the 'miracles' (II, ii, 173, Nothing almost sees miracles but misery), a spectacle which Kent appreciates now perhaps for the first time, since 'our mere defects prove our commodities'. Again to take the beacon to be the moon mars the beauty with which the rising of hope with the letter is made to synchronise with the rising of the sun. — Furness (p. 408) thinks that Lear's 'Good morrow' (II, iv, 129) argues for Eccles, who makes the whole of Act II with Sc. i—vi of Act III to take place in one night! But this greeting of Lear's is certainly ironical (cf. p. 223). We must suppose the sun well on its course now, for 174 lines later in the same scene (II, iv, 303) 'the night comes on', rapidly, and eight lines later 'tis a wild night'. There is really no ambiguity about the lapse of time from II, i to III, vi. The hours run now fast, now slow, but their course is clearly marked. Beginning late in the evening in II, i, we find Corn. and Reg. arriving before midnight (II, i, 103); Kent, commanded to follow (II, iv, 36), arrives soon after, and as we should expect, before that dainty personage, the Steward, whose 'Good dawning' (II, ii, 1) shows the time of his arrival to be after midnight. Kent is put into the stocks shortly before dawn (II, ii, 165, 'good morrow'), and falls asleep as the day begins to break. His 'Fortune, good-night' (II, ii, 180) is quite natural, since he is now going to sleep. Edgar's appearance (II, iii) allows Kent to get some sleep before Lear comes. Then the events of more than a year in the history (stay with Reg., return to Gon.) are crowded into one

long, short day, which merges into night as Lear is cast forth into storm and darkness (II, iv). And the night lasts (III, i—vi) till the departure to Dover to 'comfort and protection' brings in a new day.

According to II, ii, 31 it is but two days since Gon.'s outburst, yet Kent has received his letter from Cordelia, and that night he sends the Gentleman to Dover where he will find her with the French forces. To suppose that Sh. was not conscious of the actual insufficiency of the "short time" for such preparations would be as unreasonable as to say that Marlowe hoped to occupy half an hour with seventeen lines of blank verse. Plainly there is a double time-reckoning. The blows that are to subdue Lear must fall in rapid succession. The dramatic interest causes the historic time to be forgotten. Many of the time-allusions are meant to serve only an immediate purpose. Kent's 'two days' is rather a circumstance added to give force to his denial of the Steward's assertion than a reminder of the lapse of time. It is for us who read the play — a class of admirers Sh. never bargained for — and collect and collate the scattered time-allusions, that they produce inconsistency. We ask the conjurer to do the trick slowly, and the illusion is dispelled.

In placing so much of the tragedy in the night, Sh. follows — to some purpose — a literary tradition. Nashe in his *Terrors of the Night*, 1594, tells us that 'when anie Poet would describe a horrible Tragicall accident: to adde the more probabilitie & credence vnto it, he dismally be-ginneth to tell, how it was darke night when it was done, & cheerful daylight had quite abandoned the firmament'. — In OP Leir and Perillus are to be murdered before daybreak.

In view of Spedding's proposed re-division of Acts IV and V (cf. Furness, p. 312—15) it is worth while to look at the battle in OP, not because it can be thought to have influenced Sh., but because it helps us to see why Spedding's proposal must be rejected. Gallia has landed unexpectedly and captured Dover. Leir receives the submission of 'the

chiefe of the town' (Sc. 30). At l. 40 a *Drum* is heard; two lines later *Enter Cornwall, Cambria, Gonorill, Ragan, and the army*. (When last we saw these two couples, they were at their respective homes in Cornwall and Cambria, and knew nothing of the intended invasion, which takes even the watchmen at the beacon entirely by surprise.) At the end of Sc. 30 *Exeunt both Armies*. Then *Sound alarum: Excursions. Mumford must chase Cambria away: then cease: Enter Cornwall*.

Corn. The day is lost, our friends do all reuolt.

Thus the 'glorious victory' is won in even less time than the battle is lost in K. L. (Gallia in Sc. 26 hopes to reach Britain 'in four houres sayle' and 'in fiue houres more' to have brought about their 'wish'd desires', namely a glorious victory and the restoration of Leir). Craig (p. 224) agrees with Spedding that the battle is very inadequately described in K. L., but, he writes, 'an Elizabethan dramatist who wished to represent the British forces defeated by those of France under any conditions had a hard task. He knew by experience that it was his wisest course to make the reference to it as brief, as unimportant, as possible'. This might possibly account for the meagreness of description in the OP battle, but cannot apply to K. L. where of course the British forces are victorious. Craig's curious error is complementary to that of Bayne (Transactions, 1880—82, I, 223): 'The historical legend . . . included a French invasion and a defeat of the French army. (!) With these Sh. could not and would not dispense'. Spedding's proposal seems to me a great mistake, due to the modern elaborate staging of Shakespeare, where realistic scenery and display do not compensate for a lack of appreciation of the inner harmony. As an instance of this I may cite Possart's adaptation of K. L. (König Lear, für die Darstellung bearbeitet von Ernst Possart, München 1875), in which Trompetenfanfare, Hochrufe, Erneute Fanfare Stürmische Hochrufe, Dreimalige langhaltende Trompetenfanfare precede the first entrance of the king, whereupon

again Dreimalige Hochrufe; die Ritter schlagen mit den Schwertern an die Schilde. All this to-do does not compensate, I say, for the omission of the *coronet*. And Lear is accompanied by the Fool: König Lear besteigt die Stufen des Thrones. Der Narr setzt sich zu seinen Füßen. This shows a lamentable disregard for the poet's intentions, for, as Coleridge points out, Sh. prepares for the introduction of the Fool, who first appears at I, iv, 107, 'by bringing him into living connection with the pathos of the play' (cf. Furness, p. 65). Now in the other Shakespearean battles which Spedding compares with this of K. L. we are shown important characters taking an active part. Those other battles are described more fully simply because in them some of the chief characters are developed. In the OP battle a little fighting gives the comic hero Mumford an opportunity to shine, while Cambria turns out a coward. In K. L. it is otherwise. Neither Lear nor Cordelia take part in the actual fighting. Monsieur la Far is the French general, and we are not interested in him in the slightest degree. Edgar takes no part, nor Gloucester. There are reasons why Albany and Kent should not be shown fighting on opposite sides. Although the result is so important, the battle in itself is of no importance whatever, unless it is spectacle we want, and not development of character. Lear and Cordelia have to be on the losing side and to be taken prisoners. Why prolong the agony? Spedding proposes an inter-act while the armies fight to 'appropriate music'. Of all the tasteless emendations in the New Variorum K. L., this early Victorian specimen seems to me the very worst. Close Act IV at IV, ii, 5, 'and let the interval between the Acts be filled with some great battle-piece of Händel, and nothing more, I think, could be hoped or wished'. Nothing whatever. The effect would be paralysing.

27. Place. Geoffrey leaves us as much in the dark as does Sh. as to where Leir holds his court, and where he stays with Gon. Leir, we know, built Leicester, and was

there buried, but the chief town in Britain was Troja Nova, Trinovantum, Troynovant, London, founded by Brutus (Geoff. I, xvii). There Eul. Hist. makes Leir to be crowned again, and in OP Leir holds his court at Troynovant (cf. Sc. 5). Geoffrey does not tell us whether the dukes on gaining possession each of half Britain continue to reside in their former provinces, but later accounts make Leir journey from Scotland to Cornwall and back.¹⁾ In OP Leir and Perillus make a very fatiguing journey on foot from Cornwall to the 'stately palace' (Sc. 15) in Cambria, and thence to somewhere on the coast, where they take passage with some 'mariners' to France. By the time they meet Cordella they are almost dying of hunger and weariness (Sc. 24). Sh.'s Lear travels from Gon.'s 'palace' (I, iv, 267), wherever it may have been, to 'Gloucester' on horseback, as befits the master of a train of knights; and thence, it seems, is carried in a litter to Dover, a journey which must also be made by the blind Gloucester, led by Edgar. As *Karitia*, the port at which Geoffrey lands Leir, is sometimes identified with Calais, so Dover seems the natural objective of the French expedition. But it is only mentioned in one version, Eul. Hist., before OP. Sh. in choosing Dover rather than any other 'of our best ports', where too the French had 'secret feet' (III, i, 32), follows OP. It seems curious that immediately after dividing his kingdom, Lear should go to Gon.'s 'court' (I, iv, 264), and the late royal residence be left unoccupied, but Sh. saw no reason to depart from OP, where Cornwall and Cambria desert Troynovant and go back to their own kingdoms.

The only scene of action definitely named, besides Dover, is Gloucester. The earl of Gloucester's 'house', which Rowe

¹⁾ Gon. lives in Scotland or Albany in Lay, BS, GRI, Wavrin, Warner, MfM, FQ; in Cornwall in OP. Reg. lives in Cornwall in MB, Lay, BS, RM, FPB, EPB, GRI, Cxt, Wavrin, Rast, MfM; in Wace by an error (v. 1942) which his followers correct, in Scotland; in Cambria in OP.

and editors generally call a castle without authority from the original editions, is situated in a lonely neighbourhood, the character of which perhaps varies somewhat according to requirements. When Lear is to be shut out into the storm, Gloucester says 'for many miles about there's scarce a bush' (II, iv, 304). Hence Rowe's *Heath*, which has become as much a part of the tragedy as if Sh. himself had written the direction. But clearly Gloucester's emotion caused him to exaggerate the desolate nature of the country, for when Edgar had to hide, he was lucky enough, without needing to 'fly far', to find a hollow tree (II, iii, 3). One would perhaps be unwilling to part with the *heath*, yet it must be said that the accepted scene-headings convey an impression of Lear's having wandered far from Gloucester's house which is not supported by the text. Capell places III, ii in *another part of the heath*, changing the scene quite needlessly from that of III, i. If we disregard these scene-headings and read the text it is perfectly plain that the whole of Act III takes place not far outside Gloucester's house, or else inside it. At the end of III, i, Kent and the Gentleman separate to seek the king in the dark night of foul weather, Kent going back to the house (III, ii, 65). He that first lights on him must holla the other. They hope to find him, then, not far away. The scene of III, ii — the same as that of III, i — is in the immediate neighbourhood of the house ('this hard house . . . which even but now, demanding after you, denied me to come in', III, ii, 63—65), and is also close by the hovel ('hard by here is a hovel', l. 61), which is itself so near the house that when they leave it to 'go into the house', Gloucester begs for silence lest they be discovered, 'No words, no word: hush'. While Rowe's different parts of a heath are misleading, Theobald's *Farmhouse* for III, vi leads to downright confusion. This *farmhouse*, whether *adjoining the castle* (Malone) or not, cannot be justified from the text, and I can find nothing that may have suggested it except the old tenant of Glou-

cester's (IV, i, 12). But tenant, according to Al. Schmidt, stands for vassal, servant.¹⁾ Capell's *Room in some of the out-buildings of the Castle* is far preferable, although we might perhaps be still more exact. Kent's plan, III, ii, 62, is to have Lear take shelter in a hovel hard by (the hovel corresponds to that 'certain hollow rocke' in the *Arcadia*) which Kent no doubt discovered while searching for the king. It lies apparently in the direction of the house, since that was the way Kent had taken and come back (cf. III, i 50, 54; ii, 39). Meanwhile Kent will return to 'this hard house' (III, ii, 64) and force their scanty courtesy. While in another scene, however, (III, iv) he is still trying to persuade Lear into the hovel, Gloucester, guided by Edgar's shout (l. 79),²⁾ comes upon them (l. 130), and begs Lear (l. 153—158) to go back with him 'into the house' (Kent, l. 161), which is of course the same house as before, Gloucester's house, not a farm-house: —

Go in with me; my duty cannot suffer
To obey in all your daughters' hard commands;
Though their injunction be to bar my doors,
And let this tyrannous night take hold upon you,
Yet have I ventured to come seek you out,
And bring you where both fire and food is ready —

Gloucester orders Edgar back into the hovel (l. 179), but at Kent's suggestion, to prevail upon the king, they take the Bedlam with them. All *exeunt*, not by any means into the hut as in 'Schlegel-Tieck' — Lear never enters the hovel at all, in spite of IV, vii, 39 — but towards the house, where they gain entry presumably by a side-door, a postern gate if we keep Rowe's *castle*, to a room in the servants'

¹⁾ Though the word certainly had its modern meaning at times. Cf. Cyuile and Vnciuyle Life, 1579, p. 62 (ed. Hazlitt, Roxburghe Lib. 1868): 'those Tennautes haue best peny worthes of their Farmes, whose Landlordes do least know the Lande, or dwell furthest from it'.

²⁾ This 'alow: alow, loo, loo' represents, to my mind, not a shout, but the noise of the Bedlam's horn.

quarters. Gloucester's servants are true to him. We may be sure that the brave fellow who in III, vii loses his life for his master, had a hand in preparing the 'fire and food'. The room in which the king appears in III, vi, though ill according with Gloucester's idea of the hospitality due to his sovereign (III, vi, 1—3), is yet supposed to be furnished with some degree of comfort (cf. the cushions, l. 36, Q₁; joint-stool, l. 50, Q₁; curtains, l. 90). That this room actually was in the same building, Gloucester's house, as we are all along led to suppose by the original editions, is finally shown by the Steward's report to Cornwall in the next scene, III, vii, 15. Those knights of Lear's, hot questrists after their master, could not have 'met him at gate', if the room in the preceding scene were anywhere but in the house itself, for after the plot had been discovered and the need for extreme caution urged (III, vi, end), Kent would have avoided passing the very gate with the litter, had the starting-point been anywhere else. No modern edition that I have seen gives its readers a chance of forming a clear idea of Lear's movements in Act III. Editors are much to blame for retaining the old erroneous localisations of scenes. We want Shakespeare, not Rowe, Theobald, etc. To call Gloucester's house a *castle* without any explanation is misleading; the *heath* is not authentic; and is responsible, among other misconceptions, for the emendation 'wide field'. III, iv, 117, accepted by Furness and others, in spite of the 'wild field' of both F₁ and Q₁; but to bring a *farm-house* into the play at all is utterly unjustifiable, and leads to intolerable confusion. Perhaps Gloucester's words, III, iv, 168, 'His daughters seek his death', deter editors from bringing Lear back to Gloucester's house, but they only express the conclusion which Glou. draws from the barbarous treatment and particularly the exposure (cf. III, iv, 106) to which Lear has been subjected. It is not till Lear is in the house, and Glou. goes in search of additional comforts (III, vi, 2) that the latter overhears 'a plot of death' (III, vi, 97). If Lear

is to be taken into any other than that same house, so fateful both for him and Edgar, Kent's warning at the end of III, vi, loses its point, and Edgar's 'Childe Rowland to the dark tower came' much of its magic. The room in III, vi is a room in Gloucester's house, probably in the servants' quarters.

Dr. Koppel's theory that in K. L. 'sämtliche Örtlichkeiten der Handlung, mit der einzigen natürlichen Ausnahme von Dover, völlig in der Luft stehen' (p. 51), is based on an insufficient study of the text. His objection to the placing of I, iii and iv at Albany's palace that there is no mention of it 'in der Dichtung und in dem Texte derselben' (p. 152) shows that he has not considered I, iv, 264, 267, Gon.'s allusion to 'this our court' as a 'graced palace'. Goneril's palace it seems to be rather than Albany's, but Koppel's objection is groundless. His remarks on Dover Castle and Dover Cliff must be quoted at length: —

5. 3. 245 ist von einem nur gedachten „Castle“ die Rede, in welches Lear und Cordelia nach der Schlacht geführt werden, und das man, wenn man will, auf Dover Castle beziehen kann. Dieses und der — imaginäre — Sturz Gloster's vom Felsen bezieht sich — auch nur in Gedanken — auf Dover Cliff. (Wenn Schmidt zu Moberley's Bemerkung, daß keine Stelle des Ufers bei Dover der Schilderung völlig entspreche, sagt es sei „allerdings, was man Shakespeare's Cliff nannte, von einer Eisenbahngesellschaft abgesprengt worden“, so ist diese Erklärung überflüssig. Denn Edgar bringt ja den blinden Vater, der ins Meer springen will, nicht auf die Klippe, und wenn er ihn täuscht, so ist auch seine Schilderung frei erfunden.)

We ought to avail ourselves of the permission to identify the castle at Dover with Dover Castle, for it was undoubtedly Dover Castle, and not a castle 'in der Luft' that Sh. meant to suggest. That building was believed in Sh.'s days to date from pre-Roman times, and is therefore very appropriately introduced into King Lear. Cf. Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, ed. Arber, p. 250, 'Yonder white Cliffes which easily you may perceiue, are Douer hils, where-vnto is adioyning a strong and famous Castle, into the which

Julius Caesar did enter'. As to the Cliff, Schmidt's remarks are incorrect, but surely not so superfluous as those of Koppel. Did ever anyone but Gloucester believe he was brought to the top of the cliff? But the description is not 'frei erfunden', since Edgar puts in the 'local colour' of the sampire-gatherer (IV, vi, 15) and afterwards the epithet 'chalky' (l. 57)¹⁾ to convince his father, who in IV, i had asked to be brought to a certain cliff at Dover, that it was a cliff at Dover he described. The cliff blown up sixty years ago was the Round Down Cliff. The Dover corporation recently rejected a proposal to level what in spite of Koppel will continue to be known as Shakespeare's Cliff (cf. The Standard, London, July 31, 1902, p. 4). — P. 51, note 2, Koppel states that IV, v 'spielt ihrem Inhalt nach bei Regan (den Ausgaben nach „in Gloster's Schloß“) Edmund, der bei Regan seinen Aufenthalt hat (den Ausgaben nach 'ist es umgekehrt)'. This, like Baudissin's placing IV, v at 'Regan's Schloß' is due to omission to consider l. 24 of the scene, *Reg.* ' . . at her [Gon.'s] late being here, She gave strange eliams and most speaking looks to noble Edmund', which plainly indicates that Reg. is still at Gloucester's house. On p. 148 Koppel returns to this point, having meanwhile noticed that line. He is conscious now that to have one scene (IV, v) placed alone in a fresh locality would be extraordinary; remarks that Gon. not knowing of Cornwall's death sends Edm. back to him (IV, ii, 25); but fails to weigh IV, ii, 84 (*Gon.* [Reg.] being widow, and my Gloucester with her) with IV, ii, 81, where the Messenger bringing the news of Cornwall's death tells Alb. that Edm. is back again with Reg. where they were before, i. e. at Gloucester's house (IV, ii, 91, *Mes.* I met him back again). The astounding result is that Koppel instead of abandoning his theory, calls upon Sh. to fall in line with his editors and kow-tow to it

¹⁾ Sarrazin, Sh.'s Lehrjahre, 1897, p. 100 mentions two references in Sh. to England's chalky cliffs, but omits 'this chalky bourne'. His inference is therefore unsafe.

(p. 149): — 'es zeigt sich somit in jenen Worten („bei ihrem letzten Hiersein") ein Widerspruch zu Dem was S. 147 etc. wohl klar erwiesen ward, daß der ganzen Situation nach der Auftritt bei Regan spielen muß'. It is impossible, Koppel admits (p. 149) for Gon. and Edm. to have been together with Reg. again since they were all together at Glou.'s house (till III, vii, 21): this 'erweist sich als unmöglich'; though that impossibility is much more possible (viel eher möglich) than that Sh. could have intended Reg. to be still there (yet why she should hurry home and leave her husband dead or dying is beyond me to imagine, and Koppel does not explain). But Koppel labours under an illusion when he says it was 'klar erwiesen' on p. 147 etc. that IV, v must be 'bei Regan'. On p. 147 the only argument is Koppel's opinion that 'das Natürliche ist, daß Edmund bei Regan weilt'. We have here as vicious a circle as one could wish to meet. IV, ii, 25, 84, 91, as they agree perfectly with IV, v, 24 must also be contradictions. To what? To nothing but Koppel's view of 'das Natürliche', which here, as not infrequently, falls into the category of impossible impossibilities. — Regan in IV, v is still at Gloucester's house.

But where is Gloucester's house? According to Koppel, it is 'in der Luft'. The exact proleptic force of 'Gloucester' in I, v, 1, is one of the most puzzling things in the play. Koppel assures us that 'Gloucester' stands not for a place but for the earl. The opening of I, v, must be quoted here:

Lear. Go you before to Gloucester with these letters. Acquaint my daughter no further with any thing you know than comes from her demand out of the letter. If your diligence be not speedy, I shall be there afore you.

Kent. I will not sleep, my lord, till I have delivered your letter.

Koppel starts off with the surprising statement that 'letters' in Lear's phrase (I, v, 1) means 'nicht „Brief" wie die Ausgaben erklären, sondern „Briefe", an Gloster und Regan gerichtet'. Before assuming an error in all editions it would seem advisable to have some evidence to fall back upon.

The Sh.-Lexicon says that Sh. apparently uses *letters* sometimes for *letter*, but that use is beyond question. *Letters* in the sense of an epistle occurs in K. L. (not to go outside this play) in Q₁ and F₁ without any doubt, three times: II, ii, 39, II, iv, 28, 33; it occurs in Q₁ alone, while F₁ reads the equivalent *letter*, three times: II, iv, 186, IV, v, 6, 14. *Letters* is also better taken in the singular sense, though it would be possible to argue for 'Briefe', three times: III, vii, 42, IV, vi, 253, 262. This apparently indiscriminate use (unless the plural 'these letters' is more ceremonious) of *letters* and *letter* in Sh.'s time is well illustrated by OP, where *letters* stands for an epistle 15 times, a plural pronoun (them) 5 times, and the singular *letter* 10 times. Several times in OP we find both *letters* and *letter* used in close proximity, as in the passage from K. L. above, for the same epistle. And here I must point out that Koppel nowhere in the course of an argument extending over many pages (40—51) either takes into consideration himself, or quotes for his readers' benefit, the reply of Kent to Lear (see above), where the singular *letter* makes it at once extremely improbable that *letters* means 'Briefe'. Koppel's reasoning is based throughout on his own unwarranted assumptions. On p. 41 he states that *letters* means 'Briefe' and *Gloucester* the earl, not a place. It is not till p. 50 that he advances proofs for the latter assertion, and those proofs are furnished entirely by the previous false hypothesis, that *letters* means 'Briefe'. We must look into the matter a little more closely.

According to Koppel (p. 41) Lear gives Kent two letters to deliver, addressed to Gloucester and Regan. Regan and Gloucester would be a less question-begging way of putting it, for there is not the slightest hint anywhere in the play that Lear sent a letter to the earl of Gloucester. This letter was sent to announce Lear's visit (p. 41, note 1). But why could not Kent deliver a verbal message? Curan has no letter to Gloucester to announce the visit of Corn. and Reg.; he gives him notice verbally, and Glou. knows no reason for

their coming (II, i, 2, 81, 120). A letter is sent in K. L. only when there is something to impart which cannot well be entrusted to a messenger. Reg. suspects some secret in Gon.'s letter to Edm. 'Why should she write to Edmund', she asks the Steward, 'Might not you transport her messages by word?' (IV, v, 19). The natural inference from Lear's command and Kent's reply (which Koppel suppresses), is that Kent has one letter to deliver, and that to Regan. It must be delivered as soon as possible. Kent's diligence (a quality he is proud to possess, I, iv, 38) must be speedy. But Koppel would have us believe that Kent goes first to the earl of Gloucester. (p. 41) whose house is not on the way (p. 46, note 1) from Gon.'s palace to Reg.'s home; and further that Gon. knowing Lear's purpose to go to Gloucester's house, mentions this in her letter to Reg. advising her to leave home and go to the same place, Gloucester's house, where she too will go, in order that they may confront their father together. All this latter assumption is necessary from Koppel's standpoint to explain Reg.'s remark on Gon.'s arrival, II, iv, 187, 'This approves her letter, that she would soon be here'. But a much simpler explanation is afforded by the natural assumption that Gloucester's house lies on the way from Gon.'s to Reg.'s home; which Koppel will not allow (cf. inf. p. 270, note.)

Dr. Koppel expounds Lear's order to Kent as follows (p. 41): — 'Genauer bedeutet die Rede wohl: „Eil' Du mit diesen Briefen voraus, — und zwar: zuerst zu Gloster, dem Du den einen der Briefe geben sollst, (der mich ihm meldet) und dann zu meiner Tochter mit dem anderen; ihr aber sag' nichts weiter . . ." etc. — Lear's wits must indeed be in his heels if this is what he means. Kent by his reply shows that he does not understand a half of all this, and in fact that he believes he has only one letter to deliver. Surely we should be granted an exposition of Kent's reply as well. How little weight is credited to this explanation is apparent from the alternatives offered on p. 44—46: —

when writing I, v, 1 ff. Sh. may have overlooked II, iv, 27 ff., II, i, 103, 124, and other trifles, or better (p. 46), after writing these later passages Sh. forgot to modify the first into harmony with them. Yet this critic protests that we ought to exercise caution in discussing apparent discrepancies (p. 69).

(Dr. Koppel has a special department for 'Incongruities', which he calls in one place, p. 68, 'entschiedene Mängel', and from which he infers 'offenbar' a shorter recension of the play (cf. sup. p. 200, note). One of these decided faults is that Kent does not 'holla the other' searcher for the king in III, ii, as he had proposed in III, i, (p. 67). Another has been referred to above, p. 210, note. Again, Sh. completely forgot Monsieur la Far after IV, iii! But a complete collection of material should be made before setting up a theory. Here are some additional 'Ungenauigkeiten' which are not included in Dr. Koppel's collection: — Kent in the stocks, II, ii, 163, promises to whistle, but he does not. What an oversight! Again, Lear appears to intend sheltering in the hovel, III, ii, 69, 71, but he never enters it. Glou. at III, iv, 158 promises to bring Lear where fire and food is ready, but we hear nothing further of fire and food. Edgar promises to bestow Glou. with a friend, IV, vi, 293, but the friend turns out to be only a tree, V, ii, 1. If such a thorough critic as Delius was deluded into the belief that Kent had sent a letter in III, i, by the Gentleman to Cordelia, then we may be sure that Sh.'s audience did not notice any discrepancy. And if a specialist on such matters fails to remark those similar 'Ungenauigkeiten' which I have mentioned, and others which I have not mentioned, it is clear that he does not exercise that foresight which he commends to others, when he writes of decided faults, or draws conclusions for the relationship of Q_1 to F_1).

On p. 50 Dr. Koppel begins to show why *Gloucester* must mean the earl. No one among the millions who have seen the play, he says, will ever have taken *Gloucester* to

signify a place, 'nachdem mit dem Worte Gloster stets im Stücke vorher die Person des unglücklichen Grafen bezeichnet worden ist'. Only a clever commentator, but not clever enough, we are told, could have happened upon the idea that Gloucester meant a place. I am not in a position to consult those millions, from whom, I suppose, all commentators who have recorded their opinion, except Dr. Koppel, are to be excluded, and I must leave that item of evidence to carry what conviction it may; but if we give the word *stets* its proper numerical value, we find it stands for once. The old nobleman with the two sons has been named only once as yet, and that once four scenes back, I, i, 35. Precisely because Sh. wrote for his audience, and without the slightest regard for 'grübelnde Philologen' (Dr. Koppel does not intend to desert us, I hope) he must have been aware that Lear's words at the opening of I, v, especially the word 'there' would infallibly suggest the town of Gloucester. That is what we have first to consider, and not what the passage might possibly mean. I therefore prefer to follow Capell and all other commentators rather than Dr. Koppel and his silent millions, whose opinion is only supported by arguments of which two examples must here suffice. Reg. says, II, i, 124, 'Our father he hath writ, so hath our sister, Of differences which I best thought it fit To answer from our home; the several messengers From hence attend dispatch'. Here *answer*, we are told, p. 43, has nothing to do with answering, those letters, but means 'die Stirn bieten'. The pregnant use of the word no doubt includes that meaning, in a proleptic sense. But the following words, about the two messengers, clearly show that Reg. intends to send a reply to each of the letters telling her of those differences. Those words, however, according to Dr. Koppel, represent one of a series of 'Flüchtigkeiten', because Regan must know — what only Dr. Koppel supposes her to know. These, 'Flüchtigkeiten' exist only in our critic's imagination. They are the direct consequence of his false hypotheses according to

which Reg.'s commanding Kent to follow her and attend the leisure of her answer, II, iv, 36, is also meaningless, and a 'Flüchtigkeit' like I, iv, 363 and II, iv, 2. And as to *from our home*, that by no means has its obvious meaning, away from home, at some other place not defined, but 'an dem bestimmten Ort, wo Regan sich befindet', because Regan must know — as before.

Surely this is the most extraordinary reasoning. Not having given a subject the attention it deserves, you readily arrive at a theory. You then proceed to note that many data do not agree with your theory. You thereupon try to demolish those data one by one by flinging your theory at them, and publish the result in a book of *Shakespeare-Studien*, in the course of which you imply in a casual foot-note¹⁾ that the author of *Shakespeare Restored* was a mere numskull.

Lear's mention of Gloucester, I, v, 1, must at the time suggest to the audience the town of Gloucester. There is

¹⁾ Koppel adopts Wright's view that III, vi, 109—122 is not genuine, and adds (p. 95, note): In Theobald hat sich ein großer Bewunderer des Monologs gefunden, was aber eher für die obige Ansicht spricht. Theobald gave us 'and 'a babbled of green fields' and a host of other valuable ideas. Sidney Lee agrees with Churton Collins in calling him the Porson of Shakespearian critics. As a specimen of Koppel's acumen we may take his emendation of I, iv, 114: 'Why, this fellow has banished two on's daughters, and did the third a blessing against his will'. It is not a fair specimen, perhaps, for in the opinion of a well-disposed reviewer (W. Bang, Engl. Studien 29, p. 290) Koppel's explanation of this passage is one of the best in his book (gehört zu den schönsten). Yet we will take this. Koppel informs us that *against his will* 'gehört zu beiden Satzgliedern gemeinschaftlich', and proposes to elide the comma after *daughters* in F₁, Q₁, and all other editions. But he has failed to observe that the change of tense in F₁, which reading he follows, from perfect to past definite, plainly indicates that *against his will* is meant to apply only to the latter clause (F₁ did; Q₁ done). Unless Koppel can show that Sh. had no objection to using *did* as a past participle, he cannot elide the comma. Moreover the effect he prefers would be produced not by eliding the comma, but by inserting another after *blessing*. Koppel directly challenges the comparison with Theobald. Wohl bekom'm's.

no further allusion to such a town. We never are brought to Regan's home, not even in IV, v, and we only know that she lived some hours' ride from Gloucester's lonely house. There is nothing, therefore, against our supposing that the residence of Cornwall, the earl of Gloucester's 'master' and his 'great and arch and patron' (II, i, 61) is in the town of Gloucester. But that is a question which Sh. never meant to be raised. It is only to the retrospect that there appears a like discrepancy to the many others such as can only in a most uncritical spirit be called faults. To the playgoing public these minute discrepancies would not have been visible, and I am convinced that these so-called 'Ungenauigkeiten' will to a critic who shall study them not with Dr. Koppel's petulance, but with the reverence due to the master-playwright, reveal a new element in Shakespeare's superb art; that these proleptic references to some incident or other which we find carried out in a slightly different manner, while to readers who are warned of them they as yet afford only a stumbling-block, must have lent to the play as it appeared to Sh.'s audience, to whom no such critical retrospect was permitted, additional richness and variety without any want of harmony. We must show our gratitude for the warm sun. If the illusion in Sh.'s prolepsis, like the illusion in his dramatic time-reckoning, is no longer possible for us, we must at least endeavour to understand how it was possible for those who were still in Heaven's benediction.

To return to *Gloucester*. It will hardly be denied, I imagine, that in order to bring all the characters of the two interwoven tragedies together at the house which with its immediate neighbourhood is the scene of the greater part of King Lear, Sh. was obliged to apply a little force. Yet if only we will grant the simple postulate that the earl of Gloucester's house, in the county of Gloucester, is situated near the direct road¹⁾ from Albany's palace to Cornwall's

¹⁾ From an arbitrary meaning he reads into *remove*, *remotion*, II, iv, 4, 115, Dr. Koppel gathers that this cannot be, 'denn wäre es der

residence, all improbability of the personages meeting there disappears. In the days of royal progresses Lear would readily be allowed to break his journey to Regan at the house of his councillor. Reaching this halting-place he expresses surprise at not having met Kent returning from Regan's home. Gon. following Lear to Regan finds him stopping with his train at Gloucester's house, where Reg. had arrived before him. The avowed reason for her removing thither is stated in the text. I can find nothing in the movements of the various characters to and fro that does not fit in with this position of the 'house'. The only apparent difficulty, Reg.'s 'This approves her letter, that she would soon be here', upon Gon.'s arrival, vanishes when we remember that Reg. is comparatively near her home, at most a few hours' ride, while it takes Kent's sleepless diligence two days to travel from Gon. to Reg. and back to Glou.'s house. Lear's journey in the litter from the neighbourhood of Gloucester to Dover ought not to amaze us when we recall the way the two old men foot it in OP. Space was to the Elizabethan dramatist as elastic a dimension as time, and Sh. has the power to make a distance long or short at will. How short, for example, appears the terrible journey the blind Gloucester has to make on foot, from his home to Dover, when Poor Tom says he knows the way there 'Both stile and gate, horse-way and foot-path' (IV, i, 57). It is a wonderful short cut. But how much longer that journey proves to have been when Edgar relates (IV, iii, 189—196) how he led his father, begged for him, saved

Fall, so würde das Erscheinen des Paares bei Gloster eher „Entgegenkommen“ genannt werden' (p. 46, note 1). Remove, remotion both mean simply change of place (Al. Schmidt), and I doubt whether anyone is able to say how Sh. would express himself under given conditions. But if in addition to a knowledge of stagecraft which enables him to talk of Sh.'s faults, Dr. Koppel also possesses that perfect gift of expression, why does he hide his light under a bushel of comment? Why not emulate Mr. Bernard Shaw in writing plays 'Better than Shakespeare?'

him from despair, and from first to last told him their pilgrimage.

Dr. Koppel's theory of räumliche Abstraktheit not only does not harmonise with clear indications in the text, but also would imply an impossible break in the development of the drama. On the mediaeval stage the spectators could see the journey from Rome to Jerusalem performed before their eyes, and in a few moments. It is distance that is immaterial. But when the persons of the drama have arrived at a scene of action which the story requires should be defined, the audience is put into possession of the necessary information. Dr. Koppel says that Dover is a natural exception. But why natural? The answer is that the landing of the French expedition and the battle had been located at Dover in OP, and that Sh. adopted the idea thence. Wherever his authorities definitely locate an incident, Sh. is content to follow them, even to the sea-coast of Bohemia. The true reason why we are not told where Lear held his court and where Goneril's palace was situated is that the original story is silent on these points. The only localisation added by Sh. is the earl's house, apparently on the road from the north to Gloucester, and not very far from that town. Gloucester was supposed, as Sh. doubtless knew, to be an ancient British foundation, and was conveniently situated for the residence of the lord whose dominions were in some versions, Cambria, in others, Cornwall, in others again (e. g. MfM) both Cambria and Cornwall; and on p. 26 I have suggested another reason why the title of Gloucester was chosen for the central figure of the Paphlagonian tragedy.

28. Conclusion. From the foregoing §§, 2—27, it would seem that Sh. had made the acquaintance of no less than six versions of the Lear-story, namely, Hol., FQ, Camden, MfM 75, OP, Geoffrey. It remains now to sum up the evidence for each of these six, and to endeavour to assign to each its part in shaping the story as it lies before us in *King Lear*.

a) The account in Holinshed, for the most part a transcript of Fabyan's barren abridgment, has by no means the paramount importance usually ascribed to it. Sh. had a much fuller knowledge of the story than could be obtained from this source, and differs from Hol. over a number of fundamental particulars. Specific influence of Hol. is apparent, however, at IV, iv, 23, where Cordelia disavows any selfish purpose in her attempt to restore her father (cf. p. 218); the strange statement that Cordeilla was to succeed Leir as ruler over Britain may have had some effect (cf. p. 167—168); but by far the most useful hint from Hol. was that contained in the marginal reference to 'Gal. Mon.' as the authority to elucidate an obscure passage (cf. p. 283—284).

b) From the Faerie Queene doubtless came the name Cordelia (p. 162) and the heroine's death by hanging (p. 242—243). Knight, Craig and others find a similarity of thought between I, iv, 238, the Fool's 'So out went the candle, and we were left darkling', and the comparison of Leir in FQ with a wick, thrown away when the oil is spent and the light goes out, but the simile of the lamp or candle was quite a commonplace, and it is difficult to see why FQ should have suggested I, iv, 238 any more than IV, vi, 39, 'My snuff and loathed part of nature should burn itself out'.

c) The question whether Camden's anecdote supplied that element of Cordelia's answer corresponding to the variation introduced by Polydore Vergil was discussed on p. 238—239, and an affirmative conclusion reached.

d) For the Mirror for Magistrates there is good evidence. The description at I, iv, 262 of Lear's train of a hundred knights as a hundred knights and squires, though a matter of the slightest intrinsic importance, is in the light of §§ 11, 12, a clear sign that Sh. had at some time seen either Caxton or MfM 75 (cf. p. 189—190). But while no other trace of Cxt is visible, several points speak for MfM: — the numbers in the reductions of the train, half, . . . , 10, 5, 1, 0 (cf. p. 190); the title of the King of

France (p. 214); Cordelia's importun'd tears, IV, iv, 24 (p. 215); the despair that was to have caused her suicide, V, iii, 254 (p. 242—243); the resemblance between Edmund and Morgan (p. 246—247). Since "and squires" is omitted from MfM 87 we must conclude that Sh. read the earlier edition, MfM 75 (cf. p. 239).

e) The case for the Old Play of Leir has been prejudiced by the undue prominence given by its advocates to the testimony of verbal resemblance. The two instances which editors consider the most striking are in reality very poor evidence indeed: the "pelican" and "young bones". Lear speaks of his 'pelican daughters', III, iv, 77, and Leir in OP Sc. 6 says

I am as kind as is the Pellican
That kills it selfe, to saue her young ones liues.

Skottowe, White, Adee, Craig and others conclude that the one passage was suggested by the other. But in Elizabethan literature the pelican was by no means a *rara avis*. Sh. had already used the same image for filial impiety in Richard II, II, i, 126; cf. Hamlet IV, v, 143. But in OP it is used as a figure not for cruelty of children, but for kindness of parents, the latter being its general application (cf. H. Green, Sh. and the Emblem-Writers, 1870, p. 393). Bearing these facts in mind we can lay no more weight on this superficial resemblance than on a number of others, e. g. that between Alb.'s dissertation on that foolish text cut short by Gon. (IV, ii, 34, Q₁):

She that herself will sliver and disbranch
From her material sap, perforce must wither,
And come to deadly use.

and a passage in OP, Sc. 16, where Gallia consoles Cor. who laments

his ill will that life to me first lent.
If so the stock be dryed with disdayne,
Withered and sere the branch must needes remayne.

King. But thou art now graft in another stock.
I am the stock, and thou the lovely branch,
And from my root continuall sap shall flow, *etc.*

These questions must be considered historically. The emblem of the tree, like that of the pelican, was thoroughly common in Euphuistic literature. Sh. had met and used both before writing K. L., and a direct transmission from OP to K. L. is quite unlikely. Similarly the stoical expressions of Cordelia and Cordella in V, iii, 6, 'Myself could else outfrown false fortune's frown' and Sc. 7, 'Thus Ile mock fortune, as she mocketh me' have only a casual resemblance that would be far less striking to the dramatist's contemporaries, and have nothing in common beyond probable Senecan origin, cf. e. g. Oedipus 86: 'Haud est virile terga fortunae dare', trans. Nevile, 'It is no point of courage stout to yeelde to fortune's frown'. I believe if rats and mice had decreased in numbers as much as pelicans, Skottowe would have said that K. L. II, ii, 80 was suggested by OP Sc. 7, 'The silly mouse by vertue of her teeth, Releas'd the princely Lyon from the net', instead of looking to the familiar fable. Unless some parallelism of thought underlies a similarity of expressions derived from commonplace figures, no debt can be acknowledged. For that reason nearly all, if not all the items written down by Skottowe and others, must be cancelled.

Most decidedly must this be done with the supposed connection between Leir's remark on Gon. in OP Sc. 10, 'poore soule, she breeds yong bones, And that is it makes her so tutchy sure' and Lear's curse on Gon., II, iv, 165, 'Strike her young bones, you taking airs, with lameness!' What kind of a disgusting Mumbo-Jumbo does it turn Lear into to believe that he vents his wrath in a horrible curse upon a babe unborn, the creature of proverbial innocence? What further sympathy could we have with such a foul-mouthed, inhuman savage? Though this misinterpretation has the general support of recent editors, including Wright, Rolfe, Adee, the *Irving* editor, Herford, Verity, Craig, it

must be absolutely rejected. For it gives Lear's curse an incoherence that could only be explained by reverting to the lunatic-theory. Lear begins (l. 164) with a general imprecation, invoking all the stored vengeance of heaven upon Goneril, and proceeds to particularise, calling down lameness upon her young bones, blindness to her eyes, ruinous disease to her beauty. The idea that those young bones mean an unborn infant is only saved from being revolting by being nonsense. How could the taking airs strike with lameness an unborn infant? Sh. and Lear too knew as well as if they had read it in the words of a modern scientist that 'the human embryo is entirely withdrawn from the direct influence of the outer world, and cut off from any reciprocal action therewith, by enclosure in its protective membranes'. All the passages quoted by Furness (p. 154) speak of breeding or getting young bones, as in OP, and are perfectly plain. But in K. L. there is nothing about breeding or getting, and there is no reason whatever to think those young bones mean any other than Goneril's own bones, or that there is the slightest connection here between OP and K. L. Fortunately I am able to settle this matter by a quotation from Gascoigne's *Supposes* (Roxburghe Lib. ed. Hazlitt, 1869, I 231). In Act IV, Sc. ii, an old hag, Psiteria, utters an imprecation on the pseudo-Erostato, who is, *nota bene*, a male: — 'A rope stretche your yong bones'.

As was to be expected, the influence of OP's poverty-stricken diction upon that of Sh. in the full power of his unexampled mastery of language, was of the slightest. That of its plot and action, however, was quite considerable, while we occasionally find ideas in OP which we seem to recognise as the germ of some perfection in the later play. As an example of this latter, most elusive class we may notice the words of Leir in Sc. 19, when he imagines that Ragan's Messenger comes from France to murder him,

Because my daughter, whom I haue offended,
And at whose hands I have deseru'd as ill

As euer any father did of child,
Is Queene of Fraunce
If it be so, that she doth seeke reuenge,
As with good reason she may justly do,
I will most willingly resigne my life,
A sacrifice to mittigate her ire.

This comparatively crude presentation of an idea which is new to the story is refined by Sh. to the heart-rending simplicity of Lear's

If you have poison for me, I will drink it.
I know you do not love me; for your sisters
Have, as I do remember, done me wrong;
You have some cause, they have not.

(Lear's next question, 'Am I in France?' contains an allusion to the traditional story. In all other versions the king actually goes to France.)

The majestic figure of Lear is in such marked contrast to the pitiful sufferer in OP that one is constrained to think that Sh. challenged comparison with the antiquated drama that still held the stage (cf. p. 222—223). In this light a comment from Craig (p. 108) is interesting, on II, iv, 159. Regan refers to Lear's kneeling to her as 'unsightly tricks', "and perhaps Sh. here girds at the kneeling Lear and Cordella" in OP. Cf. too, Gon.'s 'No more; the text is foolish', IV, ii, 34, when Alb. begins to moralise on the theme of the tree and its branches, in the Euphuistic style indulged in at length in OP (cf. p. 274). And again, Edmund's ironical 'pat he comes, like the catastrophe of the old comedy'. Nothing could be more ludicrously artificial than the way in which events are brought about in OP, and characters happen upon one another in the nick of time. It seems to me probable that the particular old comedy which Sh. had in mind was that of Lear.

More tangible proof of Sh.'s acquaintance with OP has been already offered. In § 6 is discussed the object of the Love-test. While no other version gives any adequate mo-

tive for the Question, OP makes it a stratagem on the father's part to entrap Cordella into a diplomatic marriage. Likewise in K. L. the trial is a trick, though its aim is entirely changed. Cordelia the favourite daughter is to have the opportunity of showing herself worthy above her sisters of that greatest and best portion already mapped out for her, by openly declaring her love for her father. See p. 174—179. The motive for the sisters' flattery is in both plays the same. It is a counterplot, its object being to bring about the downfall of their sister. See § 7, p. 179—181. Their evil devices succeeding, the whole land is divided between the elder sisters. Cordelia's coronet is handed over to the two dukes to symbolise her complete disinheritance, the action corresponding to the drawing of lots in OP. See § 8, p. 182—183. It must be admitted that OP played a considerable part in framing the argument of Act I.

Several minor characters owe something to parts in OP. Kent, the trusty counsellor and faithful attendant upon the king, corresponds to Perillus (cf. p. 204). Much of the activity of Goneril's steward is anticipated in Gonerill's parasite Skalliger, and his substitute in the latter part of OP, the Messenger or Murderer. An extensive array of parallels is drawn up in § 18, p. 206—210. The Old Man in IV, i, owes his existence, in my opinion, to the pathetic spectacle of the aged and infirm Perillus endeavouring to stay and comfort his old, unhappy master (cf. p. 210, 211). Gloucester has something more in common with Leir in the scenes where the father, led by his aged guide, comes upon and gradually recognises the outcast child (cf. p. 211, 212).

In the characterisation of Gon. and Reg. again, Sh. was somewhat indebted to OP. See p. 227—228. From the same source comes their plot of death upon their father (p. 226—227).

Sh. follows OP in placing the battle at Dover (p. 272). Kent's warning of a power from France 'who already, wise in our negligence, have secret feet in some of our best

ports' (III, i, 31) would recall the secret landing of Gallia in Sc. 28, due to negligent guard of the drunken watchmen at the beacon (Sc. 27), who prefer ale and bacon to duty.

Wherever the old play offered a hint for effective action, Sh. did not disdain to accept it. In addition to the instances already referred to in the preceding paragraphs should be noticed Cordelia's asides (I, i, 63, 78) commenting on her sisters' flattery (cf. OP Sc. 3, 'O how I doe abhorre this flattery!' and 'Did never flatterer tell so false a tale'); Kent's interposition for Cordelia and Lear's threats (cf. Sc. 6, 'Urge this no more, and if thou love thy life'. But notice the same incidents in the Gascon folk-tale, above, p. 203); Alb.'s feeble interposition with Gon. on Lear's behalf (see p. 185—186); the business with the incriminating letter (p. 207—210) particularly the guilty one's snatching and tearing it; the alternate kneeling of Cordelia and Lear in IV, vii, 58 from Sc. 24, further alluded to at V, iii, 10, 'When thou dost ask my blessing, I'll kneel down and ask of thee forgiveness', and perhaps at II, iv, 159 (cf. p. 277).

f) On comparing the two plays one must be struck by the complete contrast between the two kings, the one, in short, 'every inch a king', the other a perfect *bourgeois*. The figure of the king in other contemporary versions, FQ, Hol., MfM etc. is quite colourless. Whence came the inspiration then, one asks, for such a majestic conception? Did it spring from Sh.'s own monarchical tendencies? The answer cannot long be delayed. On penetrating deeper into the comparative study of the story, going back some 300 years, back beyond Robert of Gloucester, we no longer find a pitiable old man meekly bearing his crosses, weary of this world and troubled about the next, weak and miserable, longing for death, but we meet again in Layamon, in the unpublished version of MS. Reg. 13 A. XXI and in the Münchner Brut, a thorough-going old pagan, virile and impetuous, surrounded by a train of knights, with hawks and hounds and splendid horses, swearing his heathen oaths,

calling his men together in hot indignation when he finds his retinue reduced, and riding off with a curse on Goneril; nearly going mad with anger and grief, longing not for death but for vengeance, and fighting at last in the thick of the battle for the crown he had lost (cf. p. 37—38, 44, 221). From these and other indications it is soon apparent that Sh. must have made a closer acquaintance with the original story than is possible through the versions always regarded as his authorities, Hol. FQ, MfM etc. Laborious and detailed investigation then shows that he must have had access either to Geoffrey of Monmouth's book itself, or to some unknown close translation, closer than any discoverable. The proofs for this important fact are as follows:—

Sh. goes contrary to Hol. in pairing Gon. with the duke of Albany, Regan with the duke of Cornwall, and disagrees with FQ, MfM, OP etc. The full bearing of this divergence is disclosed in § 6, p. 162—166. It at once gives strong presumptive evidence in favour of some hitherto unrecognised authority in agreement with the original story.

Sh. retains the remarkable distribution of two thirds of the kingdom following immediately upon the answers of Gon. and Reg. This distribution, unintelligible in Geoffrey, has caused no end of trouble to commentators, who have not taken trouble enough to inquire into the meaning of the coronet in the Q₁ stage-direction. The reader must refer to § 5, which can leave no doubt that Sh. retained this incident from some earlier form of the story, and did not invent it. The few versions which satisfy our demands here are mentioned on p. 173.

The pretexts for reducing Lear's train put forward by Gon. and Reg. are found in Geoffrey, but in no other version that could have been accessible to Sh. See § 14, p. 192—195.

When we come in § 15 to compare through many versions the duties of the last remnant of the train, that solitary knight in Geoffrey who became the intermediary between Leir and Cordeilla, we make a discovery of the

greatest interest for students of Shakespeare. It is found that in the First Folio text the Gentleman corresponds so closely to Geoffrey's *nuncius* that it is only by help of the original story that we can understand why he is entrusted with the delicate task of tending Lear and taking all steps on his own responsibility for nursing him back to sanity. In the Quarto text, however, this office is transferred to a Doctor, from which we infer that the F₁ text, being closer to the original story, is here of earlier date than that of Q₁, where the change made is paralleled in other followers of Geoffrey, in MS. Reg., Wavrin and Milton (cf. p. 197). This theory of the relationship of the two texts, F₁ representing to some extent an earlier draft, though contrary to expectation and to the conclusions of those who have studied the question from within (cf. p. 200), holds good for other parts of the play as well, and illuminates the variations in the two texts at IV, ii, iii and V, i (cf. p. 217—219). Our belief that the Gentleman corresponds to the *nuncius* of Geoffrey is thus thoroughly corroborated, and the proof that Sh. had access to the original story is made convincing.

Kent in his romantic disguise as faithful squire is then seen to correspond with that *quodam armigero* in Geoffrey. See p. 197—198, 205.

The restoration of the train is faintly to be traced in K. L., and was doubtless more in evidence at the performance of the play. Cf. p. 201—202, 199. As in Geoffrey the king having been nursed back to health (in K. L. to sanity. Observe that the *music* is added in the Quarto), he is arrayed in royal robes (cf. IV, vii, 20, 'Is he array'd?') before being brought into the presence of his daughter (cf. p. 199).

Those traits of Lear's character which distinguish him so clearly from the Leir of OP are found already outlined in the Latin: his virility, his violent indignation, his intense grief at the loss of his power, his longing for vengeance (cf. p. 220). The mere idea that such a king might go mad

in his disgrace certainly required no great stretch of the inventive faculty (see § 22, p. 225—226).

Geoffrey's Cordeilla is no unworthy prototype of Cordelia. The refinement of character which to her own detriment prevents her from making plain her sisters' insincerity appears again when she refrains from seeing her father until he is set out in the dignity befitting his estate (cf. p. 229. One feels that Geoffrey's disrepute as a historian has prejudiced his due appreciation as a writer of fiction). But Cordeilla too is no gelatinous 'Engelsgestalt'. That little faulty admixture of pride and sullenness is already visible in the part of her answer marked (d) and (e) in § 24. This, however, as well as the conjectured allusion to (f), may have come from Hol., and not directly from Geoffrey (see p. 238, 239).

The difference in character of the two dukes is the direct outcome of the parts they play in the original story (see § 10); and the same must be said of Gon.'s initiative and Reg.'s zealous support of her sister (cf. p. 226). There too we find the disinterested love of France for the outcast heroine (p. 213).

Possibilities of verbal influence are given for what they are worth on p. 213, 229. Thereto may be added that while Leir is referred to as 'credulus pater' (see passage, p. 170), Glou. at I, ii, 195 is 'A credulous father'.

The case for Geoffrey is so strong that one wonders how it should so long have lacked an advocate. Such is, however, the fact. While Simrock had no hesitation in stating — without any foundation whatever — that the author of OP had read either Hol. or Geoffrey (cf. p. 99), no one, to my knowledge, has ever suggested that Sh. read Geoffrey, except Dyce, who in his edition of Sh., 1865, VII, 247 casually remarks that 'Our author had read the story . . in Geoffrey of Monmouth, in Holinshed, in' MfM etc., and says no more about it. The idea has never been entertained by anyone. To Eidam and Von Friesen it apparently never occurred. Yet there is no inherent improbability about it. A

most striking feature in the pedigree of the story is the continual reversion to the original. Poets, antiquaries, and chroniclers of the time were familiar enough with so famous a work. Why should what was possible to Stow the tailor and that sorry young poet, Higgins, have been beyond the reach of Shakespeare? Of course there is Ben Jonson's 'small Latine', which somehow often gets to mean none at all. But Ben Jonson, Camden and Selden were the three most learned men in the country, and the time is past for critics to whom B. J.'s small Latin would mean an intolerable deal to repeat his dictum without regard to his personal equation. Sh. we know was well grounded in Latin at Stratford Grammar School, and the original of Parson Evans (who as a Welshman might well have introduced his pupils to the British history in the intervals of *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*) would have seen to it, we may be sure, that 'William' did not translate *ministris* by ministers of the court and *familias* by families. He was a good sprag memory, and Sh. would not for a moment suppose that *armigero* meant 'by a soldier who had formerly been his standard-bearer' (cf. p. 196). To suppose that Sh. could not have read Geoffrey if he had access to the work would be the greatest absurdity.

It seems very likely that Sh.'s attention was drawn to the original Latin by the marginal reference in Holinshed (cf. p. 168, 174). There never had been a satisfactory motive for the Love-test. This, we have seen, was due to the factitious nature of the Salt-story, the question being put merely to elicit the clever reply of the Youngest-Best (cf. p. 15, 21). A king who would ask that question in order to know how to divide his kingdom could never exist outside a fairy-tale. That motive was too irrational even for the old comedy. (Yet until Coleridge explained, it seems to have been the general belief among commentators that it was rational enough for King Lear, a fact which shows for one thing how dangerous a thing may be a little knowledge of Sh.'s sources. Cf. p. 155, 172). But the puerile

stratagem imagined by the author of OP, to inveigle the heroine into consent to wed an eligible suitor, was equally ill adapted to Sh.'s tragic purposes. While pondering over the reason for the question he must have been struck by Hol.'s curious variant: 'he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whom he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Whervpon he first asked Gonorilla' etc. At this point of the narrative there is a reference in the margin of the 1587 edition to 'Gal. Mon.' Sh. already doubtless knew that Geoffrey, who is repeatedly mentioned in Hol., was the chief authority on the British period. If not, and if he felt any curiosity as to who 'Gal. Mon.' might be, he had but to turn to the list of 'The names of the authors from whome this Historie of England is collected' to find the name of 'Galfridus Monumetensis alias Geffrey of Monmouth'. (He would find in Geoffrey, it is true, nothing like what Hol. promised. He found there the old story rooted in the popular faith, of the king asking for his daughters' declarations of love in order to know how to divide his kingdom. This motive he then retained, but taking hints from Hol. and OP (cf. § 6, p. 173—174) entirely transformed it in a manner demanding our highest admiration, eliminating the irrationality, and founding his tragedy not on the accidental but on the catholic in human nature. Cf. p. 237).

His attention once directed to Geoffrey, it could have been no difficult matter for Sh. to obtain a copy of his work. Geoffrey had been already three times printed, in 1508 and 1517 at Paris by Ascenius — the 1517 ed. is a small handy volume, but the text is curiously corrupt here and there, cf. p. 186² 193¹ — and again in 1587 at Heidelberg by Commelinus (cf. Ward, Cat. Rom. I 221) in a thick folio of some 600 pages, of which Geoffrey occupies pp. 1—92. But the book was more accessible, perhaps, in MS. form. An enormous number of transcripts had been made, and the work was still being copied in the 16th century.

The catalogue of extant MSS. drawn up by Hardy (Descr. Cat. I, i, 341) includes 27, 29, 47, 21, and 2 of the 12th to the 16th centuries respectively. Higgins, we saw, had a MS. of Geoffrey at one time, and managed to lose it (cf. p. 85). Sh. might have obtained a copy, for instance, from his friend Drayton¹), who draws largely upon Geoffrey for his *Polyolbion*, 1613 (Selden writes of this work that 'the author . . . follows Geoffrey ap Arthur'). There can be no doubt that Sh. might easily have obtained and read the original story if he desired to do so, and there is nothing whatever of improbability to militate against the internal evidence adduced above.

The relative importance of these six sources can be gauged by the preceding paragraphs (a) to (f). It may be that Sh.'s attention was drawn to the dramatic possibilities of the story by the publication of OP (cf. p. 99). But nothing in what Sh. has borrowed from OP forces us to believe that he did not write K. L. before OP was printed. He seems, in fact, to have been acquainted with it years before (cf. p. 111, 212¹). The fact that OP had been divers times lately acted, if we can believe the printer's statement in 1605, suffices for the conjecture that its hold upon the public suggested another treatment of the theme. But however this may be, the old comedy in itself could not have suggested a tragedy. Sh. doubtless already knew the story and its unhappy sequel, in outline, from FQ or Hol., and here the unsuccessful attempt at a tragic setting of the story by Higgins, in that well-known work the *Mirror for*

¹) It is somewhat surprising that Drayton, who repeats many of Geoffrey's fables in his work, passes by Leicester in Song 27 (Chalmers' Poets IV 371) with merely an allusion to her ruins, and in Song VIII, 63 passes from Leir to Ferrex and Porrex with the bare mention

Of justly vexed Leire, and those last did tug
In worse than civil war, the sons of Gorbodug.

The epithet, which contrasts so strongly with the 'kind' Lear of the lines on Burbage, cannot have sprung from any knowledge of the play.

Magistrates, may have had some effect (cf. p. 83—84). It would, at any rate have shown Sh. that to bring the story into tragic unity the attempt at Leir's restoration must fail, and Cordeilla's reign of five years be cancelled, the daughter dying with the father. On looking up the story in Holinshed, his great authority on matters historical, he found himself referred, at a critical point of the narrative, to Geoffrey, where he read a much fuller and more interesting version. He then, it is clear (e. g. from § 3), regarded the original story as the best account to follow on matters of information, and drew from it sufficient material for it to be looked upon as his chief source of inspiration. That Sh. should have unconsciously restored the answer of Ina's daughter in Camden's *Remaines*, which appeared in 1604—1605 and furnished some slight matter for *Coriolanus*, to the personage to whom it was originally ascribed, by Polydore Vergil, is a remarkable coincidence. It would seem simpler to take MfM 87 as the source for this detail. It is a point on which I feel unconvinced, but the balance of probability seems to incline in Camden's favour.

I have not dealt with the cognate story from the *Arcadia* so effectively interwoven with that of Lear, except to note the 'hollow rocke' corresponding to the hovel (p. 260) and that 'so foule a storme' (p. 136), and where some transference has taken place from the main story to characters of the secondary theme (cf. p. 210—212, 246—247). The field to be covered seemed already sufficiently wide.

I also refrain from discussing the relative importance of what Sh. derived from these six versions to the play as a whole. But I must object to the unscientific attitude of those who like Dr. Furness talk of the search for Sh.'s sources as the most profitless department of Shakespearian study (New Var. K. L. p. 383). Of course 'the question is a barren one' if pursued in gin-horse fashion, from the old play to Holinshed and round again to the old play. But that such study need not be profitless, the by-products' of

this investigation must show: the interpretation of the opening scene; the relationship of the two original texts. The discovery that Sh. read Geoffrey may be thought a small matter, but can anything be a small matter that has a direct bearing on Shakespeare? 'The distance is always immeasurable between the hint and the fulfilment'. No doubt. But clearly an exact knowledge of the hint helps us to a worthier conception of that immensity. At least it is well to make sure of the ground beneath our feet before seeking to understand what is passing above our heads.

To take a final brief survey of the whole course of the story, we see that it had no historical basis. No euhemeristic view is possible of the Salt-story of the Youngest-Best which in combination with the filial piety *motif* (for which as the folk-tales show, it has a natural affinity) makes up the matter of the story proper. A mythological origin is equally to be denied, both these elements being, in different degree, of purely human interest. To speak of a Lear-saga must be misleading if that term is to imply anything of a popular origin or tradition. Both elements of the story, the one a *Märchen*, the other a moral tale, may be said to be of popular origin, though when and where they originated are questions incapable of a definite answer, but Geoffrey, labouring to fill up the gap 'a Bruto usque ad Julium Caesarem' was the first to apply them to Leir, a shadowy figure of Celtic mythology, with offspring doomed to suffering, transformed into a King of Britain. These two elements continue to co-exist in folklore, either separately or in combination, generally as Cinderella-variants, ready at any time to develope new features, as the madness of the father, the figure of Kent; but the Lear-saga, of clerical origin, remains the property of clerics, rarely passing beyond the pages of the chronicles, except to adorn a homily or to be included in a collection of anecdotes, and then transferred without compunction from a mythical Leir to an

equally mythical Theodosius or Ina. Even in Wales, where one might suppose the British history to have made a deep impression, the Lear-saga apparently took no hold on the minds of the people, Llyr and the supposed namesake of Cordelia appearing in popular tradition in a totally different set of circumstances. There is no sign of any effect of the Lear-saga on popular imagination until the sixteenth century, when the reading of the chronicles had become a favourite pastime of the cultured English laity (cf. p. 161).

It is no saga, then, passing down from mouth to mouth and gathering strength as it goes, but what is first told of Leir's reign is a complete tale, obscure at certain points, but written with great skill, and with a wealth of detail, rounded off with the reconciliation of father and daughter and the former's restoration. The story proper, terminating at the happy ending, was already at its first appearance in literature a fixed type, susceptible indeed to infinite change in subsidiary details, but incapable, properly speaking, of growth. The intermediate versions have to be judged, apart from form, mainly by the degree of fidelity with which they reproduce the original story.

It is in the next chapter of the British history, when Leir is dead and buried, that we find the fertilising seed of tragedy which centuries later was to spring suddenly into glorious life. The good Cordeilla does not long enjoy the reward which mankind wishes virtue to be entitled to. The happy ending proves in fact to be the beginning of misfortune, culminating in the heroine's suicide, 'a most improper catastrophe', impossible to moralise, and therefore simply ignored by the mediaeval homilists and the author of the old play. Yet it must be confessed that Geoffrey here attains a high level of historical verisimilitude. His Cordeilla might certainly, like Bonduca, have killed herself in despair at the loss of her kingdom. It is impossible to admire the way in which the old play, while claiming to be the True Chronicle History, goes contrary to the spirit

of the chronicles; but then its author was not Shakespeare, who alone was capable of harmonising the discordant material into a tragedy of the highest ethical value. Shakespeare holds to the tragic spirit of Cordeilla's history, showing us plainly that it is possible with best meaning to incur the worst, resolutely stripping off the garment of pious make-believe. But he indicates the way to better things. Man is master of his fate; it is for man to 'show the heavens more just'. The suicide in despair, unthinkable of Cordelia, who for herself could 'outfrown false fortune's frown', is changed into a death that becomes a triumph of the ethical idea, the martyrdom of Cordelia arousing enthusiasm for the ideals she suffers for, her humanity, her veracity of thought and of action. The 18th century adaptations show how incapable people then were of understanding the lesson of *King Lear*. Are we more ready to learn it now?

Appendix.

I. Notes on the text of King Lear.

- I, i, 5, 'qualities', see p. 146—151.
I, i, 6, 'curiosity in neither', see p. 144³.
I, i, 37, 'darker purpose', see p. 154, 179.
I, i, 38, 'the map', see p. 144¹, 149.
I, i, 39, 'fast intent', see p. 175.
I, i, 52, 'shall we say', see p. 173, § 6; p. 180.
I, i, 60, see p. 181.
I, i, 81, see p. 144¹.
I, i, 82, 'ample', 83, 'no less', see p. 149.
I, i, 83, F₁ reads,

Now our Joy,

Although our last and least; to whose yong loue
The Vines of France and Milke of Burgundie
Striue to be interest. What can you say,

while Q₁ has,

but now our ioy,

Although the last, not least in our deere loue,
What can you say

In spite of all that has been written on this passage, editors still refuse to follow the superior text, and offer the reader an impossible combination of F₁ and Q₁,

Now our joy,

Although the last, not least; to whose young love
The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
Strive to be interest'd; what can you say

(K. L. ed. Craig, 1901; cf. Herford, 1899, etc.) Malone and others have shown that 'last not least' was a common, even hackneyed phrase. The additional examples brought forward

by Craig do not make it more probable that Sh. wrote 'last, not least' here, but rather less so. Still another example is found in *The True Tragedie of Richard III*, ed. Field, p. 66, 'and louing father, lastly to your self, though not the least in our expected aide', in which, as in all other examples, least is defined in some way. But in the combined text how is Cordelia least? Q_1 is intelligible, 'not least in our dear love'. The phrase was in fact so hackneyed that it had already undergone variations similar to that of F_1 . Cf. in Lyly's second address to the Queen (Euphues ed. Arber, p. 10), 'The last and the least'; Albion's England, Bk IV, last line, 'Whereof the first but not the least, in cradle-time befell'. The reading of F_1 cannot therefore be dismissed, with Dyce and Staunton, as an error or a misprint. Again, Cordelia is Lear's favourite daughter, his best object, the argument of his praise, balm of his age, most best, most dearest (cf. I, i, 216). The business part of the ceremony over, the elder daughters' portions having been assigned to them, the king turns in glad anticipation to hear the favourite's declaration of love which is to prove her worthy of 'a third more opulent' (cf. p. 177). All his parental pride and affection is summed up in the one rich word 'our joy' (cf. in Percy's Reliques, Lady Isabella's Tragedy, l. 15, She was her fathers only joye; ib. The King of France's Daughter, l. 7, She was lovely faire, She was her fathers joye; l. 31, her joye and hearts delight; l. 53, My joye and only dear; etc.). It is impossible to think that Lear then sinks back to the trite litotes of a barren formula, 'although the last, not least'. Cordelia was the least, the youngest, smaller in stature and less in rank than the two duchesses, her married sisters, who already wear their coronets (cf. p. 180, 153). Of course 'not least in our dear love', but my quarrel is with the combined reading, which is impossible. Either F_1 or Q_1 , but F_1 is infinitely preferable.

I, i. 87. Koppel (p. 18) supports Al. Schmidt, who says (Sh.-Lex.) that 'interest' for which modern editors 'pre-

posterously' write 'interest'd', is not a past participle but a noun meaning right, claim. This is downright nonsense. What is the meaning of 'they strive to be right (claim) to her love'? On the other hand the now obsolete verb 'to interest' was not uncommon in Sh.'s time. See the NED which gives a passage from Holinshed with the same past participle constructed as in F₁ with 'to': — 'the crowne of Scotland whereunto they were interested'.

I, i, 100, see p. 239.

I, i, 107, see p. 229.

I, i, 117, see p. 36¹.

I, i, 118,

The barbarous Scythian,
Or he that makes his generation messes
To gorge his appetite.

The illustration to this passage given by Wright from a work of later date than K. L. is of little interest in comparison with the following extract from Chap. IV of Harrison's Description of Britain, in Holinshed, which may almost with certainty be said to have inspired those lines: —

How & when the Scots, a people mixed of Scithian & Spanish blood, should arriue here out of Ireland . . is vncerteine I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like & barbarous nation & longest without letters. For both Diodorus lib. 6 & Strabo lib. 4 do seem to speake of a parceil of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britain in their time, which were given to the eating of man's flesh, & therefore called *Anthropophagi* it appeareth that those Irish, of whom *Strabo* & *Diodorus* doo speake, are none other than those Scots of whom *Jerome* speaketh *Aduersus Iouinianum lib. 2.* who used to feed on the buttocks of boies and women's paps, as delicate dishes.

The word *Anthropophagi* is used in *Othello*, I, iii, 144. There is no need to go with Delius to *Locrine* for Sh.'s knowledge of it, but we may take this as another instance, like 'interest'd to', I, i, 87, of Sh.'s enlarging his vocabulary from Holinshed. — Another extract from Harrison may be given

here (Hol. 1587, p. 66) since it has not found a place in the New Variorum *Macbeth* among less worthy illustrations to Macb. I, iii, 11 (Second Witch. I'll give thee a wind): —

the people of the said Ile [i. e. Man] were much given to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots, a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with the iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndoo manie, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller number.

I, i, 126, 'Hence, and avoid my sight', see p. 44.

I, i, 134, 'monthly course', see p. 188.

I, i, 137—138, see p. 183, § 9.

I, i, 141, 'This coronet', see p. 151—153, 182—183.

I, i, 151, 'Reserve thy state', see p. 153¹.

I, i, 162' 'by Apollo', see p. 44.

I, i, 167, 'Revoke thy gift', see p. 153¹.

I, i, 181, 'By Jupiter', see p. 248.

I, i, 196, 'quest of love', see p. 111¹.

I, i, 201, F₁ 'that little seeming substance'. We must read with Collier, etc. 'that little-seeming substance', not with Capell, etc. 'that little, seeming substance. Cf. The Time's Whistle, c. 1615, ed. Cowper, EETS, l. 201, 'And first to speake of that pure seeming sect', the Puritans, those 'seeming saints & yet incarnat devils', l. 218; again l. 745, 'your pure seeming sect'. For the common antithesis of seeming or semblance and substance, now usually shadow and substance, cf. OP. Sc. 22, l. 15, 'Mine is the substance, while they do but seeme'; Par. Lost. I 529, 'high words which bore Semblance of worth, not substance'. Baudissin's translation, 'der kleinen, schmucken Larve' certainly stands in need of improvement.

I, i, 227, 'If for I want that glib and oily art' The break sometimes inserted after 'If' (cf. Furness, p. 32) will prove to be quite as wrong as that formerly placed after 'For' in the Clown's song in Hamlet (cf. New. Var.

I 385), 'For and a winding sheet'. Early modern English was more plastic in its use of particles. When 'if' is separated from 'for' we get an assertion from Cordelia quite out of keeping with her character. Cf. Othello, III, iii, 263, 'Haply for I am black'; the frequent use of 'and for' etc.

I, i, 255, 'seize upon'; 258, 'inflamed', see p. 213.

I, i, 261, 'waterish Burgundy'. Wright quotes from a book dating 1633. The following passage from Trevisa's translation, 1387, of Higden's *Polychronicon*, in the chapter *De Burgundia*, seems to me more to the point, perhaps explaining the notion of contempt in the epithet 'waterish': — 'men that woneth toward that side of Burgoyne haueth bocches vnder the chyn i-swolle and i-bolled, as they he were double chynned, that is bycause of great colde of wateres of snow, that melteth among hem al day' (Higden's *Polychron.*, Rolls Ser., I 297). For goitrous throats cf. *Tempest*, III, iii, 44,

. mountaineers

Dew-lapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at them
Wallets of flesh.

Trevisa's Higden was printed by Caxton in 1482, with the language modernised, and reprinted 1495 and 1527. Higden was also much drawn upon by Fabyan and other chroniclers.

I, i, 282, see p. 239.

I, ii, 6, 'Why bastard? Wherefore base?' We certainly cannot infer from this line and l. 10 that the pronunciation in Sh.'s time was *base-tard* (cf. Furness, p. 44). The idea of baseness does not come from speculative etymology on Edmund's part, but an illegitimate son was actually called base, a base son, cf. Camden's Remaines, 1629, p. 222, 'Robert, Earle of Glocester, base sonne to King Henry the first'; p. 224, 'Iefferey the Kings base sonne This gallant base bishop' (of Lincoln, son of H. II).

I, ii, 146, 'the old comedy', see p. 277.

I, iv, 18, 'to eat no fish', see p. 249.

I, iv, 114, see p. 269¹.

I, iv, 154, see p. 179.

I, iv, 175, see p. 151.

I, iv, 208—209, 'frontlet', 'frown', see p. 224.

I, iv, 219, 'a shealed peascod', see p. 239.

I, iv, 262, 'knights and squires', see p. 189, 190.

I, v, 1, 'to Gloucester', see p. 267—270.

I, v, 1, 'these letters', see p. 265—266.

II, ii, 128, 'worthied'. Not as Abbott suggests, § 290, a new formation from the adjective, nor (Al. Schmidt) from *worthy* = *hero*, but OE *weordian*, ME *wurdien*, *wurdie*. The native word apparently supplanted by *dignify*.

II, ii, 132, 'None of these rogues and cowards but Ajax is their fool'. An instance of Sh.'s allusiveness to his own work, cf. Ten Brink, *Vorlesungen über Sh.*, p. 39. Kent = Ajax; the Steward, rogue and coward = Thersites. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, II, i; III, iii.

II, ii, 170—174, see p. 254.

II, ii, 174, F₁.

I know 'tis from *Cordelia*,
Who hath most fortunately beene inform'd
Of my obscured course. And shall finde time
From this enormous State, seeking to giue
Losses their remedies. All weary and o'-watch'd

The punctuation of this passage in F₁, and more particularly the change from third to first person in l. 176 — a point which has escaped comment, though Staunton changed 'shall' to 'she'll', and Hudson proposed to read 'and I shall' — prove that Jennens was in the right in taking the words 'And shall find time remedies' as actually read from *Cordelia's* letter.

II, iv, 129, 'Good morrow to you both', see p. 223.

II, iv, 155, 'the house', see p. 250.

II, iv, 165, 'her young bones', see p. 275—276.

II, iv, 274. Cf. *Every Man out of his Humour*, II, ii,

Macilente. 'Good heaven, give me patience, patience, patience'.

III, ii, 15—18, see p. 18.

III, ii, 95, see p. 249.

III, iv, 77, 'pelican daughters', see p. 274.

III, iv, 79, see p. 260².

III, iv, 117, 'a wild field', see p. 261.

III, iv, 138, 'the ditch-dog', cf. Ballad of Jane Shore, Child VII 199: 'Within a ditch of loathsome scent, Where carrion dogs do much frequent'.

III, iv, 161, 'go into th'house', see p. 259—262.

III, iv, 168, 'His daughters seek his death', see p. 261.

III, iv, 195, 'British', see p. 294—250.

III, vii, 63, F₁:

If Wolues had at thy Gate howl'd that sterne time,
Thou should'st haue said, good Porter turne the Key:
All Cruels else subscribe: But I shall see
The winged Vengeance ouertake such Children.

Lines 64,65 must be punctuated thus:

Thou should'st have said, "Good porter, turn the key!"
All cruels else subscribe; but I shall see

and the sense of the passage will be clear, when we have removed the stumbling-block laid in our path by Al. Schmidt. Furness considers 'All cruels else subscribe' the most puzzling phrase in the play, but he takes it to be part of the imaginary speech to the porter, as does Craig; while the latter, with most other editors, follows the Qq reading 'subscribed', which adds more difficulty.

The natural interpretation of 'cruels' is cruelties, cruel deeds. So Clarke, Wright, Abbott, E. M. Dey (cf. Sh.-Jahrb. XXXVII 288) and others take the word. But Al. Schmidt has declared that 'it is proved . . . that *the cruel*, as a substantive, can only mean *the cruel person* or *thing*, not *cruelty*; as little can *the old* mean old age, or *the young* mean youth'. The proof must be a curious one. Milton

uses *bright* for brightness in a familiar line, P. L. III 380, 'Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear', and there is no need to look far in Elizabethan literature for numerous examples of the adjective used as abstract noun. I have not found *old* or *young* as abstracts, but here are quotations from Lodge and Warner showing clear for clearness, pure for purity, fair for beauty, mild for mildness, brave for splendour. Cf. Rosalynde, Hunterian Club p. 78, 'those sweete eyes, That staine the Sunne in shine, the moone in cleare'; p. 109, 'our immortal spright, Deriude from heauenly pure'; p. 112, 'men when they have gluttet themselves with the faire of womens faces'; Albions England, IX, xlvii, 10, 'for maiestie, for milde'; XI, lxvii, 31, 'So many queens for braue'. To cap all, the NEDic. shows us the very word *cruel* in use as a substantive c. 1440, meaning cruelty: 'God forbid that crewell or vengeance, In ony woman founde shulde be'. This use once recognised, the rest is easy. There are numerous examples in the Sh.-Lex. of abstract nouns used in the plural with a concrete sense. A good instance from this play is 'speculations', III, i, 24 (cf. Furness, p. 168). There can be no objection therefore to our taking the word in that sense which most naturally suggests itself. — 'Subscribe', an imperative addressed not to the imaginary porter, but to Regan, may mean something like leave out of the question, pass over, assume that you are not responsible for, since Sh. uses the verb in a number of figurative senses, and some such sense as above is easily gathered from *yield*, *surrender* (cf. I. ii, 24). The passage might then be paraphrased thus: — If wolves had come howling to your gate in that fearful tempest, you should have given them shelter (cf. IV, vii, 36, Mine enemy's dog, though he had bit me, should have stood that night against my fire'; and for 'turn the key' cf. II, iv, 53). Never mind about your other cruel deeds, such as the harsh treatment of your subjects (cf. V, i, 22) and the violence you are offering me — *subscribe* them, let us leave them out of consideration — but for that

impious act of shutting out your father in such a storm, such a night, I shall see the winged vengeance overtake you and Goneril, such children.

IV, i, 2. Perhaps the change in the use of the colon has misled editors in their punctuation of this line. At any rate, modern editions which follow Pope, substituting a full stop for the comma after *flatter'd*, and a comma for the colon after *worst* make the passage unintelligible. F₁ reads,

Yet better thus, and knowne to be contemn'd,
Then still contemn'd and flatter'd, to be worst:
The lowest, and most dejected thing of Fortune,
Stands still in esperance, liues not in feare:
The lamentable change is from the best,
The worst returnes to laughter.

The colon after *worst* does not denote that what follows is an equivalent of *to be worst*, but on the contrary denotes that the sentence is complete. Cf. Ben Jonson on Punctuation in his *English Grammar*, Chap. IX: 'The distinctions of an *imperfect* sentence are two, a *comma* and a *semicolon* The distinction of a *perfect* sentence hath a more full stay, and doth rest, which is a *pause* or a *period*. A *pause* is a distinction of a sentence, though perfect in itself, yet joined to another, being marked with two pricks (:). A *period* is the distinction of a sentence, in all respects *perfect*' The 'pause' having fallen out of use, a period must be substituted for the colon of F₁ as after *fear* in l. 4. 'Better thus, openly despised, than to be in fact worst, when flattered and yet nevertheless despised'. The curious antithesis of better and worst draws the attention to the word which is so much dwelt on in Edgar's subsequent meditations (l. 6. 8, 27—30). But if with Furness, Craig etc. after Pope we disregard the punctuation of F₁ and place the period after *flatter'd*, what is the subject of *stands, lives?* 'To be worst, the lowest . . . lives not in fear' is meaningless. Clearly the subject to *lives* is *thing*, not the

infinitive, which belongs to the preceding sentence. To emphasise *worst*, I should suggest reading,

Yet better thus, and know to be contemn'd,
Than still contemn'd and flatter'd, to be — worst.

IV, i, 10—12. The key to this difficult passage is offered by the speech of the murderer in Macb. III, i, 108, 'I am one . . . Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world Have so incens'd, that I am reckless what I do to spite the world'. For Edgar it is a different 'respect' from that of Hamlet, 'that makes calamity of so long life'. He would take his life but that the vile buffets of the world which reduce him to such misery also inspire him with hatred for the world and the desire to be avenged on it. Thereafter he takes a firm stand against all thoughts of suicide.

IV, i, 13. 'tenant' see p. 260¹.

IV, i, 39. Edgar's exclamation 'How should this be'? surely refers to the bitter view of life that has just fallen from his father's lips, 'As flies to wanton boys', etc. How could such a sentence from a father pass unnoticed by his thoughtful son? But it is impossible for him to reply; he cannot be himself but must take up the rôle of madman and beggar. In l. 40, 41, 'Bad is the trade' etc., is there not an expression of Sh.'s own dislike, in certain moods, for the actor's profession?

IV, ii, 29, 'the whistle' means of course the act of whistling, not the instrument, as stated by Al. Schmidt, Sh.-Lex.

IV, ii, 34, see p. 274.

IV, iii, 13—15, see p. 242.

IV, iv, 6, 'century', see p. 201.

IV, vi, 57, 'this chalky bourn', see p. 263¹.

IV, vi, 280, 'Here, in the sands'. What sands were these? Edgar is not speaking for Gloucester's ears, who alone believes himself on the sea-shore. Is the word an oversight?

IV, vi, 281, 'Thee I'll rake up', cf. Euphues, ed. Landmann, p. 35, 'Albeit I can no way quench the coales of

desire with forgetfulness, yet will I rake them vp in the ashes of modestie'.

V, iii, 17, 'gods' spies', see p. 250—251.

V, iii, 245, 'the castle', see p. 262.

V, iii, 272, see p. 59¹.

V, iii, 289. *Lear*. You are welcome hither. *Kent*. Nor no man else. — There is no need of emendation, but we have to understand, from Kent's 'Nor', its correlative *neither* before Lear's 'You are . . .'. The omission of the correlative *neither* was common, cf. IV, vi, 124, 'The fitchew nor the soiled horse goes to't'; Sonnet 141, 'my five wits nor my five senses can dissuade my foolish heart'; Meas. for M. III, ii, 86 '*Clo*. You will not bail me, then, Sir? *Lucio*. Then, Pompey, nor now'. Mids. N. D., V, i, '*Lion*. Then know, that I, one Snug the joiner, am A lion fell, nor else no lion's dam'. The extension of this use here is very remarkable, but has hitherto escaped notice.

II. The Impersonation of the Fool.

A number of critics, among them Furness (p. 69), Grant White (p. 231), Oechelhäuser (Einführungen in Sh.'s Bühnen-Dramen, 1895, p. 141), are of opinion that the Fool should be represented not as a youth, but as an elderly man 'removed by not more than a score of years from the king's own age' (Furness) — 'plainly he and Lear have grown old together' (White). Their arguments carry no weight whatever for one who holds the contrary opinion, being based entirely on the idea that the wisdom of the Fool can have come only from long experience of the world. On a matter of opinion of this kind there is no final appeal except to Sh. himself. At the Fool's first appearance, in I, iv, Lear's first words to him are 'How now, my pretty knave! how dost thou?' It is possible, no doubt, to imagine that Lear might call an elderly Fool 'my boy', but how could he address a Fool of sixty, a man who has grown old with him, as 'my pretty knave'. It is a horrible idea,

unthinkable in fact, unless Lear is already bereft of his senses. Notice, too, the Fool's almost feminine terror on encountering Edgar in the hovel (III, iv, 40). But as we must not assume that the critics mentioned have not weighed the import of these passages, something more seems necessary to set the matter beyond doubt. This is supplied by a remark in Brandl's *Shakspeare*, 1894, p. 32, an inference from quite another set of data, that the two rôles of the Fool and Cordelia were originally undertaken by one and the same actor. And since the female part was played by a boy, it is plain that to view the Fool as an elderly man is contrary to Sh.'s intention. Macready entrusted the part of the Fool to a woman. A modern manager should go a step further and give both Cordelia and the Fool to one gifted and beautiful actress. And this brings us to another point. In the last scene of the tragedy, Lear, embracing the lifeless body of Cordelia, who was hanged by Edmund's orders, exclaims, 'And my poor fool is hang'd!' (V, iii, 305). Three pages of selected comment on these words in the *New Variorum* illustrate two opinions hitherto irreconcilable. Does Lear here refer to Cordelia or to the Fool? Very reluctantly, at the end of all these notes, Furness comes to the conviction that he refers to Cordelia, with the majority. At first sight, any other view seems impossible. Cordelia lies in Lear's arms, hanged. How could his thoughts wander off to another personage? And 'my poor fool' is shown to be an expression of endearment. (To the examples cited may be added one from Barthol. Fair, V, iii, 'I have lost my little wife . . . my little pretty Win . . . Poor fool, I fear she's stepped aside'. Parallels for the use of an otherwise contemptuous word as a term of endearment in the presence of death are offered by Othello's 'Ill-starr'd wench!' and in Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston* by the words of the stern old judge when he comes to look upon his dead wife. He exclaims 'with a most unusual gentleness of tone, "Puir bitch!"'). Yet on the other hand there are many who

think that 'my poor fool' is to be taken literally, that the Fool, not Córdelia, is meant; among them Sir Joshua Reynolds (cf. Furness, p. 345), C. A. Brown (ib. p. 66), P. A. Daniel (Trans. Sh. Soc. 1877—1897, p. 222). In the *Irving* K. L., in spite of the editor's note to the contrary effect, there appears a final illustration showing the Fool lying dead at the foot of the tree from which he has been cut down. There is the feeling that the Fool should be accounted for. The statement often met with that he disappears from the play with the words 'And I'll go to bed at noon' III, vi, 92, is not exact. From Kent's subsequent directions to the Fool, III, vi, 107, 'Come help to bear thy master, Thou must not stay behind', we expect to see the Fool again a Dover. (It is to be remarked that these words are in a passage peculiar to Q₁; if my theory of the two texts (cf. p. 219) holds true for this scene, the Fool is explicitly directed to Dover by an afterthought on Sh.'s part.) The solution I intend to propose must now be evident. Sh. must have been aware that while Lear would undoubtedly be held to refer to Cordelia, his words 'my poor fool' would infallibly suggest the Fool. And when we bear in mind that the two characters were united in the person of one 'tender and delicate youth', and that the identity of the young actor impersonating the two figures must have been apparent to the audience, the question is not whether Sh. purposely bids farewell in one breath both to Cordelia and to the Fool but rather what that purpose was. Doubtless it was the difficulty of distributing the extraordinarily numerous important parts in King Lear among the forces at his disposal that led Sh. in the first place to give the double part to some unknown young genius in his company, but Sh. would not have been himself if he did not rise above material requirements to some higher purpose. There seems to be a symbolical meaning here. When Cordelia is away, her place at the representative of utter truthfulness is taken by the Fool. In this respect the two characters

are one. When Cordelia suffers death, the Fool, who on her going into France did much pine away (I, iv, 80), dies with her.

But the point to be urged is that if we are to see the play as Sh. intended it, the two parts, Cordelia and the Fool, must be presented by the same artist. The opportunities the double character would offer a great actress are surely without a parallel.



Corrigenda.

- p. 111, l. 3 from foot, *for* § 19, note 2 *read* p. 212, note 1.
p. 116, l. 11 „ top, *for* syes *read* eyes.
p. 121, l. 2 „ „ *for* blount *read* blunt.
p. 187, l. 4 „ foot, *for* fourty *read* forty.
p. 189, l. 6 „ „ „ „ „ „
p. 191, l. 3 „ „ *omit* believe.
p. 223, l. 13 „ top, *for* p. 221¹ *read* p. 222¹
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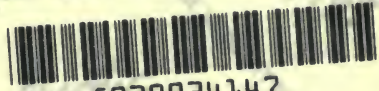
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